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Smithsonian

March 1990



A young visitor
about Inuit life
newest museum (p. 1

Photocopy-Preservation

March 1990

Smithsonian

Volume 20, Number 12

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Around the Mall and beyond

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This is fair warning of a future event that is a Must if ever there was one. It's the journalism exhibit at the Library of Congress, scheduled to open early next month. Don't miss it.

The Library of Congress would seem rightfully to be involved with books—and so it is. But it is also, rightfully, a repository. Like its neighbor the Smithsonian, it is seldom able to say no to any offering. So it has gathered a fine collection of Stradivarii, and a self-replenishing punch-bowl ladle presumably used by Houdini, and the stuff that was in President Lincoln's pockets when he was assassinated, along with thousands of other objects not usually associated with libraries, and millions of things that are—pamphlets, prints, posters, photographs and, of course, letters. The Library's total inventory comes to about 84 million items—almost in the same ballpark with us.

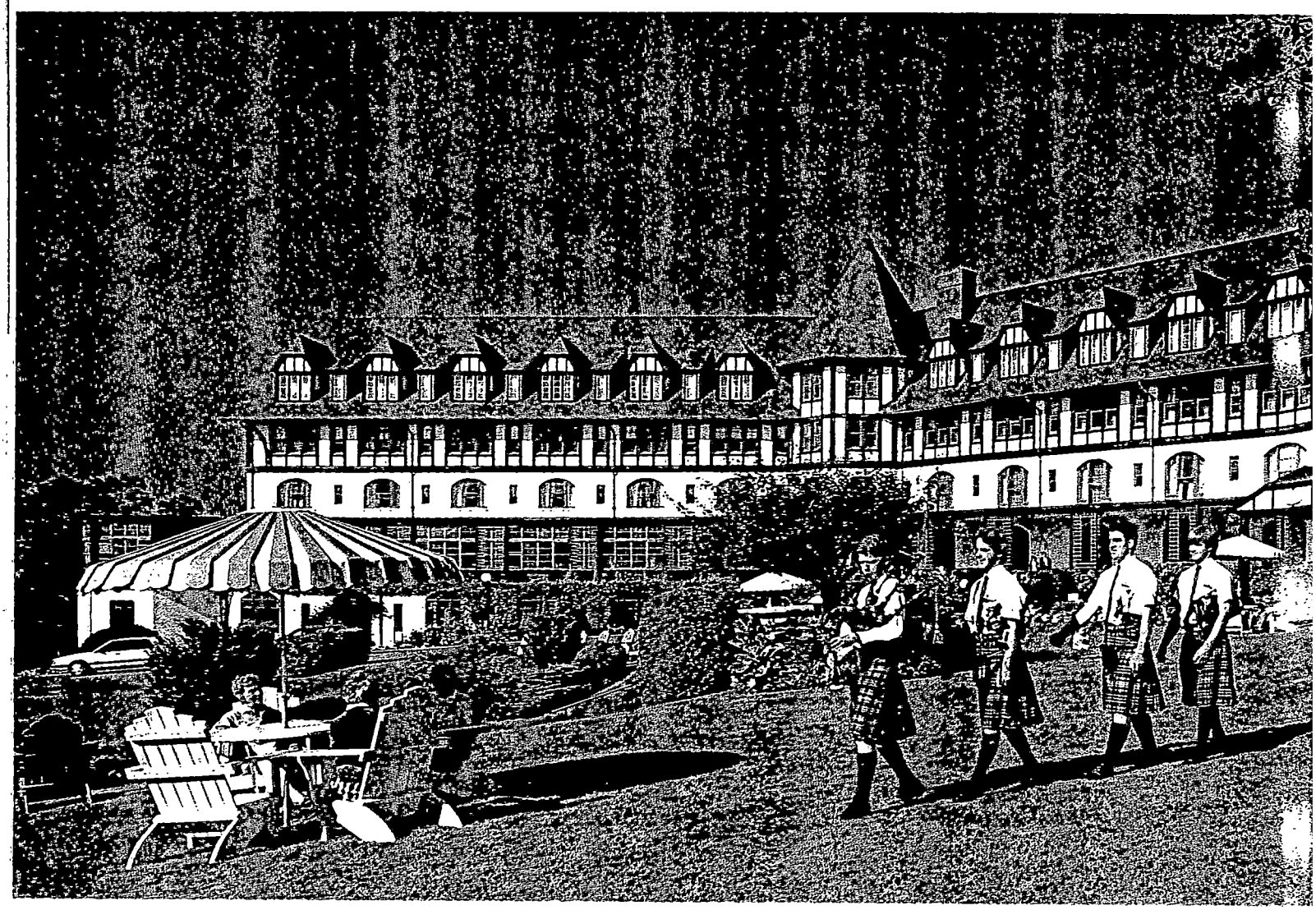
Many of these items relate to journalism, and you'll see them at "The American Journalist: Paradox of the Press" on two floors of the Madison Building—the newest of the Library's three edifices—starting April 5. Long before the space was even cleared for this new show, I was taken in tow by Helen Dalrymple of the Library's public affairs staff and introduced to some of the objects and to some of the people who were making them presentable for opening day.

David Halaas, exhibition curator, and his associate curator, Sara Day, assured me that, among other things, you will see the contents of Lincoln's pockets. "They include news clippings," said Sara. "Apparently he'd saved some of them because they said nice things about him." It's good to know that Lincoln, like the rest of us, felt the need of a little stroking now and then.

I also found an old friend and Smithsonian alumnus, Ben Lawless. He's a freelance exhibits designer working with another old friend, Jan Adkins, formerly of *National Geographic*. And they've been very busy with this display.

Ben trotted out for my perusal Ernie Pyle's typewriter, which will be exhibited in the War Correspondents section. It was packed up and shipped home from Ie Shima after the great frontline reporter was killed there in 1945. The typed original of one of Pyle's last dispatches will also be on view. Among other bits of journalistic hardware are a few things loaned by the Smithsonian: a 19th-century Washington Hoe hand press and type stand, a portable telegraph machine, Rube Goldberg's drawing table, and that vital adjunct to any editor's office in more volatile times—a set of dueling pistols.

But most of the material on display is





Newsboy folk sculpture, 1888, will draw visitors into "American Journalist" show.

what I suppose would now be called software—items more related to the thought processes of journalism than to the mechanics of producing and defending it. Pride of place goes to the very first newspaper published in North America, a sheet entitled *Publick Occurrences, Both Forreign and Domestick.* It appeared exactly 300 years ago; one of the purposes of the show is to mark its tricentennial. As it happened, *Publick Occurrences* occurred only once. Published by Benjamin Harris, who had done time in England for publishing "seditious" pamphlets, it hit the streets of Boston on Thursday, September 25, 1690. Four days later, the royal governor ordered it confiscated. No more journals would be allowed without his permission. So American journalism, born free in 1690, was quickly enslaved.

Wondering why, I had a careful look at a facsimile of our first newspaper. The original won't arrive until two days before the exhibit opens. It's being flown over from England because the only copy of the paper to escape destruction was the one sent by Harris to the Public Record Office in London. It is a small tabloid of ancient fibrous paper, far sturdier than today's newsprint, which is why it is still around.

Reading the news items of 1690, I felt that the reporting was too well-behaved for display at my local supermarket's checkout stands. The hottest tidbit seemed to be a report of smallpox raging in Boston. But I suppose even *that* alarmed Colonial authorities, for it revealed information to common folks. The governor and the council found the paper contained "sundry doubtful and uncertain Reports." They expressed "high Resentment and Disallowance of said Pamphlet," and forbade "any person or persons for the future to Set forth anything in Print without Licence." So Benjamin Harris became the first writer to get banned in Boston—an accomplishment which even now assures heavy sales—and the first to get shot down by the government. The real public occurrence was that act of suppression.

With an old journalist's suitable genuflection to this seminal newspaper, I continued through the storehouse of wonders at the Library of Congress, which, even as you read this, are being assembled in place. In the stairwell of the exhibition area at the Madison Building you'll find a splendid red-white-and-blue balloon with Nellie Bly's name on it. Just a hundred years ago, this feisty



LILA HAUGHN/MANAGER'S



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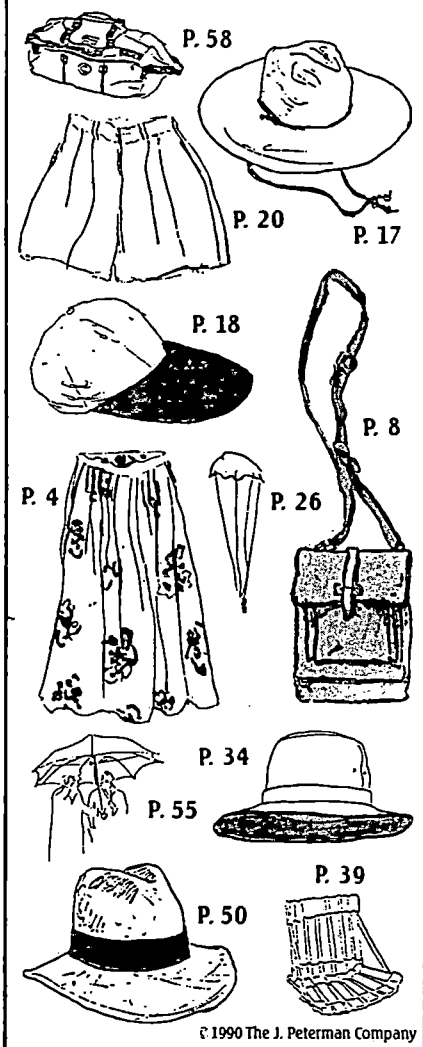
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reporter (no sob sister, she) finished a Joseph Pulitzer assignment for the *New York World.* Her mission: go around the world in less than 80 days to best Jules Verne's fictional hero Phileas Fogg. Little Nellie—her real name was Elizabeth Cochrane—beat Phileas by eight days. Although a balloon wasn't used for the journey, it serves in the show as a symbol of the crossover between fact and fiction.

Nellie Bly was also an investigative reporter, one of the people discussed on the second level of the show. She shook up New Yorkers by getting herself committed to the city's insane asylum on Blackwell's Island and spilling its horrors onto the front page of the *World.* You'll meet others here, including Ida Tarbell, who cut loose at big business monopolies, and Jacob Riis, who wrote about New York's slums for the *Tribune.*

The rooms around the foot of the stairwell deal with journalism itself. You'll pass displays of papers and pamphlets that mark our progress toward establishing our own government. Here, for example, you'll see Paul Revere's flier reporting on the Boston Massacre of 1770. It wasn't a pleasant event, but it was mild compared with what Revere made of it. I'd seen a print, but this hand-painted original showed stricken citizens spouting gouts of blood exactly the same color as the coats of the "vicious" soldiery. The Customs House at right carries the sign "Butcher's Hall."

"They didn't miss a trick," said Sara Day, who is stoutheartedly British. "They were masters of propaganda, those forefathers of yours."

You move on to the Revolution, the Constitution. "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press . . ." says the Bill of Rights. And then the American press discovered the delights of American politics. Savage word battles raged between Federalists and Republicans. What copy! Confident of their constitutional rights, publishers tried out the power of the pen, and journalists roasted President John Adams and Vice President Thomas Jefferson.

And suddenly, along came the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798. The press saw the Sedition Act as a massive backsliding toward the control of Colonial days. It certainly ended the fun for a while, but today it's not exactly unheard of for the press to criticize a President. It's safe to say that since those ambiguous beginnings, American journalists have been a bit uncertain about who and what they are. Where do their responsibilities lie? Do they follow events, or lead them? I, for one, only know I like the job.

Civil War days produced war correspondents, battlefield artists and the use of the telegraph to send stories back to the paper. And then the papers boomed along with the country. James Gordon Bennett found that his readers devoured scandal, and fed it to them. You'll see the source of the name for this kind of journalism on posters depicting R. F. Outcault's Yellow Dugan Kid in full color—glaring yellow. This comic character started in Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World,* then went to William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal.* A circulation war erupted between the two. "An Actress Dissected" screams one Gay Nineties headline. "Society Women Who Drink" fumes another.

If you can tear yourself away from these salad days of reporting, you'll discover coverage of radio and TV news, of country papers—a Norman Rockwell painting titled *The Country Editor,* a letter from Theodore Roosevelt to William Allen White, the epitome of country editors. You will wind up stairs lined with paparazzi begging you to "Hold it a minute!" and pleading for "Just one more!" while strobe lights flicker like the flashes of cameras. And you will walk through concentric circles, passing memorabilia of real reporters and then fictional ones. Among the generally unknown faces in the Street Reporters section is, surprisingly but logically, Walt Whitman, whose work as a reporter provided material for his *Leaves of Grass.* Among the fictions are Clark Kent, Brenda Starr and a host of others.

The show is as big and broad and boisterous as journalism itself. It includes everything from William Lloyd Garrison, who thumped the tub for abolition, to a collection of movie clips that starts off with reporter Ronald Reagan calling in to his city editor from the scene of a murder: "Hello, J. B.," he spouts. "Boy, have I got a story!" It also includes pages from Bob Woodward's reporter's notebook recording the Watergate break-in.

"The American Journalist," which will run through August 12, was funded by the Gannett Foundation and produced in cooperation with the American Society of Newspaper Editors. It was the brainchild of guest curator Loren Ghiglione, editor of the Southbridge, Massachusetts, *News* and author of the fine book that will accompany the show.

Edwards Park

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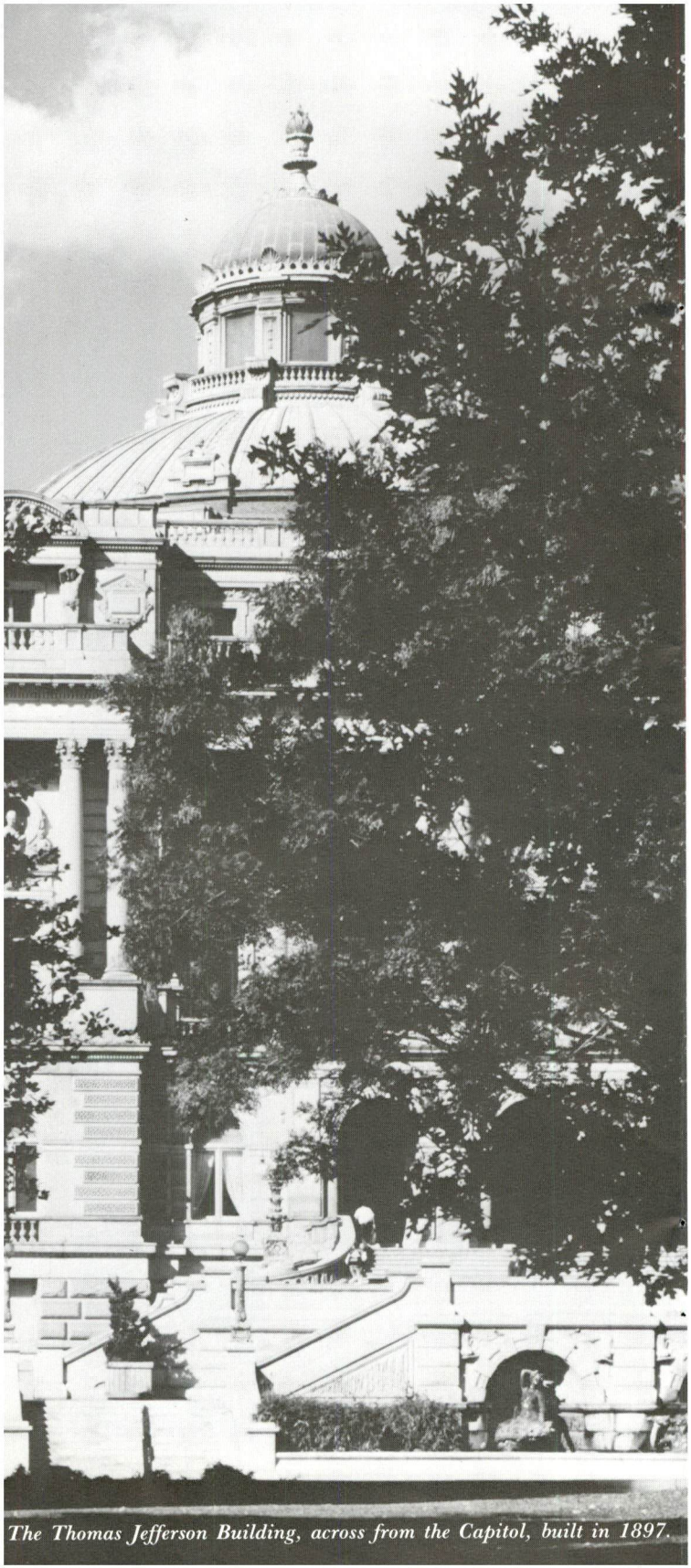

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



Main Reading Room in the Thomas Jefferson Building of the Library of Congress (now undergoing renovation)

SERVICES TO THE NATION

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



The Thomas Jefferson Building, across from the Capitol, built in 1897.

Library's Printing and Processing Section, Central Services Division.

Photography Photographs for personal use may be taken in exhibit areas. The use of flash attachments is not permitted in any reading room. Permission to use a tripod must be obtained from the Information Office, James Madison Memorial Building, Room LM-105.

Snack Bar/Cafeteria The Library cafeteria, located on the sixth floor of the Madison Building, is open to the public from 8:30 a.m. to 11:30 a.m., and from 12:30 p.m. to 3:30 p.m. on Monday through Friday. In addition, there are snack bars, some offering counter service, with food and beverage vending machines, in all Library buildings.

Restrooms Restrooms are located near the entrances of each Library building.

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The Library of Congress

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Hours All exhibit areas are open to the public between 9 a.m. and 5:30 p.m., except the Madison Gallery, and the Great Hall and lower gallery of the Thomas Jefferson Building, which are open from 8:30 a.m. to 9:30 p.m. on Monday through Friday, 8:30 a.m. to 6 p.m. on Saturday, and 1 p.m. to 5 p.m. on Sunday. Exhibit hours in the Performing Arts Library in the Kennedy Center are 11 a.m. to 8:30 p.m. on Tuesday through Friday; 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. on Saturday; it is closed on Sunday, Monday, and holidays.

Information Counters The Library sales counter is located in the Thomas Jefferson Building (open from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday through Saturday (closed Sundays). A new sales shop is scheduled to open in the James Madison Memorial Building, on the first floor, in early summer. Library of Congress publications, postcards, recordings, slides, facsimiles, posters, folklife items, and other articles may be purchased.

Tours Free, 45-minute guided tours begin at the ground-floor entrance lobby of the Thomas Jefferson Building every hour, on the hour, from 10 a.m. through 3 p.m. on Monday through Friday. Group tours should be arranged in advance. For further information call (202) 707-5458. An 18-minute slide presentation, "America's Library," provides visitors with an excellent introduction to the Library of Congress. "America's Library" is shown hourly every day, from 8:45 a.m. to 8:45 p.m., in the Orientation Theater, ground-floor lobby area, Thomas Jefferson Building.

Calendar of Events A monthly listing of exhibits, poetry readings, concerts, and other special events at the Library—the *Calendar of Events*—is free upon request at the information and sales counters, or by mail from the

The Library of Congress is the Nation's library. Its services extend not only to Members and committees of the Congress, but to the executive and judicial branches of government, to libraries throughout the Nation and the world, and to the scholars and researchers and artists and scientists who use its resources. This was not always the case. When President John Adams signed the bill that provided for the removal of the seat of government to the new capital city of Washington in 1800, he created a reference library for Congress only. The bill provided, among other items, $5,000 "for the purchase of such books as may be necessary for the use of Congress—and for putting up a suitable apartment for containing them therein. . . ."

The first books were ordered from England and shipped across the Atlantic in 11 hair trunks and a map case. The Library was housed in the new Capitol, until August 1814, at which time British troops invaded Washington, and when they put the torch to the Capitol Building, the small Library was lost. Within a month former President Thomas Jefferson, living in retirement at Monticello, offered as a replacement his personal library, accumulated over a span of 50 years. As Minister to France, Jefferson had spent many afternoons at bookstalls in Paris, "turning over every book with my own hands, putting by everything which related to America, and indeed whatever was rare and valuable in every science." His library was considered one of the finest in the United States.

In offering the library to the Congress Jefferson wrote, "I do not know that it contains any branch of science which Congress would wish to exclude from their collection; there is, in fact, no subject to which a Member of Congress may not have occasion to refer." After considerable debate Congress in January 1815

accepted Jefferson's offer, appropriating $23,950 for the collection of 6,487 books. Thus the foundation was laid for a great national library.

BUILDINGS AND FACILITIES

The Library of Congress complex on Capitol Hill includes three buildings. The Thomas Jefferson Building, executed in Italian Renaissance style, is the oldest of these. Heralded as the largest and costliest library structure in the world when it was completed in 1897, it is elaborately decorated with splendid sculpture, murals, and mosaics created by 50 American artists. The building's Great Hall includes towering marble columns, murals and mosaics, statuary, and stained glass, portraying themes relating to learning, knowledge, and the many pursuits of civilization. The Main Reading Room, reopening in late 1990 following extensive renovation, soars 160 feet from floor to dome. The room will house a collection of 45,000 reference books and desks for 250 readers. The adjacent Computer Catalog Center provides public access to the Library's automated catalog files through computer terminals.

The simply designed, dignified John Adams Building, faced with white Georgia marble, was opened in 1939. Bàs relief sculptures on its large bronze doors represent 12 historic figures credited with giving the art of writing to their people. They include Ts'ang Chieh, Chinese patron saint of pictographic letters; Cadmus, honored in Greek legend as the inventor of the alphabet; and Sequoyah, the renowned American Indian who invented an alphabet for the Cherokee language and taught his people to read. Ezra Winter's murals of the Canterbury Tales decorate the

CULTURAL PROGRAMS

Chamber music concerts, poetry readings, films, lectures, and symposia are presented throughout the year in the Library's 500-seat Coolidge Auditorium, the adjacent Whittall Pavilion, the Mary Pickford Theater, and the Mumford Room. Live broadcasts of many of the concerts are carried by radio stations throughout the country. Many lectures given at the Library are published. Of special note here: The Coolidge Auditorium will be closed for renovation for about three years, beginning November 1989.

Through its exhibits program, the Library displays examples of the treasures in its collections, including prints and photographs, maps, musical scores, rare books, and manuscripts. Many of the exhibits travel to libraries and museums across the nation.

Especially popular is the lunchtime concert series sponsored by the Library's American Folklife Center. Once a month, from May through October, musical groups representing a variety of folk traditions perform on the Neptune Plaza in front of the Library's Jefferson Building.

The Center for the Book in the Library of Congress is a national catalyst for stimulating public interest in books, reading, and the printed word. Its symposia, exhibits, and publications are supported by tax-deductible contributions from individuals and corporations. "A Nation of Readers," "Read More About It," "Books Make a Difference," and "Year of the Young Reader," are reading promotion themes used nationally and by affiliated Centers for the Book in a number of states.

VISITOR INFORMATION

The Library of Congress is open to the public every day except Christmas and New Year's Day.

19th century and adopted by most academic and special libraries.

Since 1900 many libraries have depended on cataloging information produced by the Library of Congress in forms that have changed from books and printed cards to machine-readable tapes. Such information saves libraries time and money.

The Library of Congress offers assistance in locating source materials in libraries in the United States and throughout the world, publishing bibliographies, guides, and selected lists of materials on many subjects, from African folklore to UFOs. It also compiles the invaluable *National Union Catalog* of books published since 1454 identifying the holdings of more than 1,200 North American libraries, as well as other union catalogs which record the locations of books in Slavic, Hebraic, Japanese, and Chinese languages.

Through its National Library Service for the Blind and Physically Handicapped and a nationwide network of 160 cooperating libraries, the Library of Congress has a readership of more than 705,400 blind and physically handicapped individuals of all ages. At no cost to readers, it supplies them with books and magazines in braille or recorded on disks or cassettes together with playback equipment. Each year about 2,500 fiction and nonfiction titles that appeal to a variety of tastes are selected for recording and brailling, produced in quantity, and circulated through the network of libraries. In addition, music books and periodicals, scores, and instructional cassettes for piano, organ, guitar, and other instruments are made available in braille and recorded formats. The Service also trains volunteers for braille transcription and proofreading and for tape narration.



The James Madison Memorial Building.

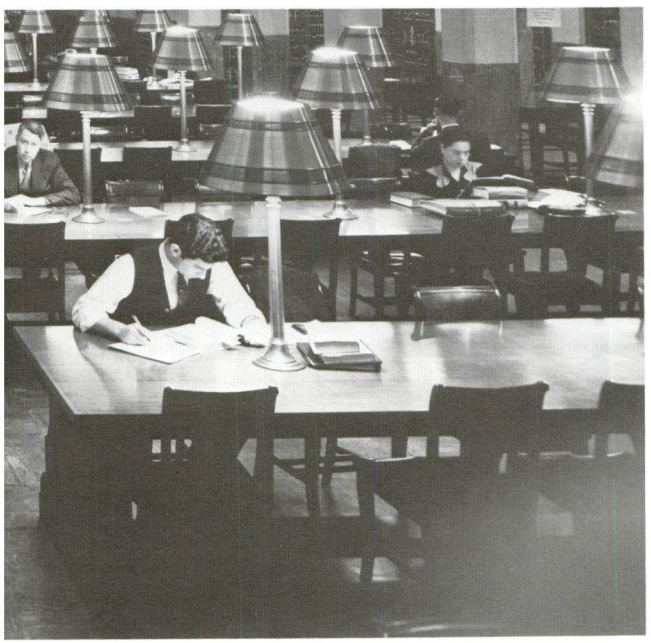
building's fifth-floor reading room.

The white marble James Madison Memorial Building, dedicated on April 24, 1980, more than doubled the Library's available Capitol Hill space. The building houses the official memorial to the Nation's fourth President, James Madison Memorial Hall, as well as eight reading rooms, offices, and storage areas for the Library's special-format collections, which number over 70 million items.

FROM PAPYRUS TO LASERS

Collections of the Library include more than 86 million items covering virtually every subject in formats that vary from papyrus to optical disk. These materials stretch along 535 miles of shelves and are being acquired at a rate of 10 items a minute. The Library has 26 million books and pamphlets in 60

languages and more than 36 million manuscripts, among them such treasures of American history and culture as the papers of Presidents, notable families, writers, artists, and scientists. The Library has the world's largest and most comprehensive cartographic collection—almost 4 million maps and atlases, dating back to the middle of the 14th century—and a 7-million-piece music



The John Adams Building Reading Room

collection that includes autograph scores, correspondence of composers and musicians, flutes from throughout the world, and rare Stradivarius instruments, with Tourte bows.

The Library's 10 million prints and photographs provide a visual record of people, places, and events in the United States and in many foreign countries. Master photos, fine prints, works of popular and applied graphic arts, and documentary photographs are included. Approximately 75,000 serial titles are received annually; 1,200 newspapers are held

law materials. To gather background material for a spy story set in Eastern Europe, a novelist may refer to the extensive reference collections of the Main Reading Room, the European Division, and the Government Publications, Newspaper, and Current Periodical Reading Room.

For those who are not able to visit the Library a number of special services are available. Through its interlibrary loan program the Library extends the use of its books and other research materials to scholars working at academic, public, or other libraries across the country. The service is intended to aid scholarly research by making available unusual materials not readily accessible elsewhere. Through the Library's Photoduplication Service the public may purchase photographs, photostats, facsimile prints, and microfilms of research materials by mail (subject to copyright or other restrictions).

Written inquiries on specific subjects are handled by the General Reading Rooms Division and other reference divisions within the Library.

In 1980 the Library established the Council of Scholars, a group of 22 distinguished individuals representing a wide spectrum of academic fields and disciplines. These men and women are charged with examining the state of knowledge in their subject fields and exploring the extent to which the Library's collections effectively support active research in these areas.

SERVICES TO LIBRARIES

Besides maintaining the Dewey Decimal Classification system, used by many public and school libraries, the Library continually expands and develops the Library of Congress Classification system, devised at the end of the

transfer and reassignments, and distributes copies and certificates of official documents relating to Copyright Office records and deposits.

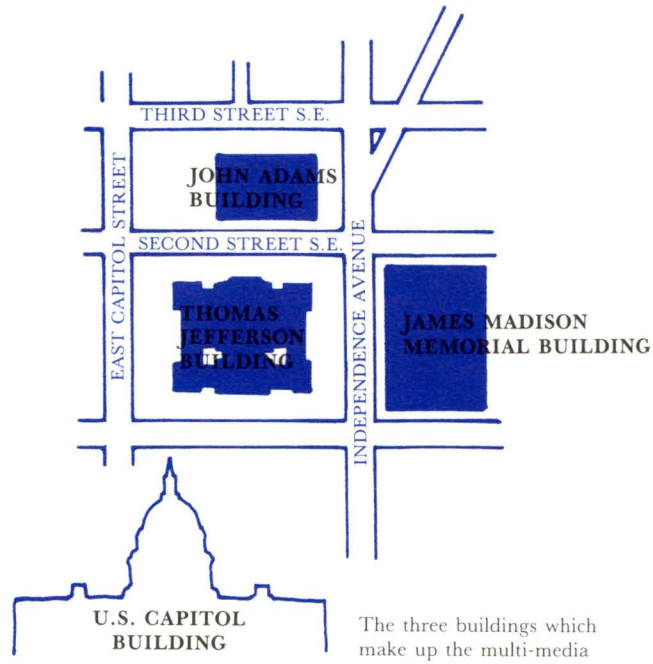
Works deposited for copyright are a rich source of material for building the Library's collections. The Copyright Office transfers more than half of its current books, periodicals, music, and maps to the Library.

Also administered by the Copyright Office, through the Licensing Division, are several licenses, including statutory royalty provisions for cable television retransmissions and for jukebox performances. Through its Mask Work Unit the Copyright Office administers the Semiconductor Chip Protection Act of 1984.

SCHOLARLY RESOURCES

As its most important service to the scholarly community the Library of Congress makes its vast resources available to the public. Scholars, writers, teachers, artists, journalists, students—anyone over the age of 18 pursuing serious research—may use the Library's reading rooms, each of which has a catalog, reference collection, and reference librarians to guide the way. Readers may use computer terminals to search the Library's data bases for new titles, for sources of information on a variety of subjects, and for legislative histories.

The uses of the Library's resources are as varied as its collections. For example, a graduate student doing a comparative study of American writers may go to the Manuscript Reading Room to examine the papers of Walt Whitman and Archibald MacLeish. A violinist may use the Music Reading Room to study the notations on an original score of a Mozart string quartet. An attorney may use the Law Library's comprehensive collection of foreign



The three buildings which make up the multi-media encyclopedia—The Library of Congress on Capitol Hill

in the Library's permanent collections, with some dating back to the 17th century. There are also 80,000 motion picture titles, 50,000 television broadcasts, 350,000 radio transcriptions, and over one million other sound recordings, as well as about seven million microforms.

Throughout the Library buildings manuscripts, rare books, prints, and maps from collections are exhibited. On permanent display are such priceless treasures as the Library's copy of the Gutenberg Bible, one of three surviving examples printed on vellum and perfect in all respects, and the Giant Bible of Mainz, an illuminated manuscript executed by hand at about the time the Gutenberg Bible was printed. Also on permanent display is a copyright exhibit with such familiar items as Ken and Barbie dolls, a speech by Martin Luther King, and a copy of the movie "Gone With

the Wind,'' which trace the history of copyright through landmark cases.

In 1982, the Library began a pilot program in image preservation and retrieval using state-of-the-art optical disk technology. The pilot program evaluated the use of optical disk technology for information preservation, improved access, compact storage, and determination of the costs and benefits of the technology in a library setting. Two types of disk storage are now being used. High-resolution images of print materials are being stored on digital optical disks, while lower-resolution images of non-print materials are stored on analog videodisks. Several user stations are in place in selected reading rooms so readers may gain access to certain articles, journals, maps, music, manuscripts, motion picture stills, drawings, and photographs. Some of the earliest motion pictures produced, as well as samples of color film segments and television broadcasts, are a part of the one program.

SERVICES TO CONGRESS

The Library of Congress provides numerous services which directly or indirectly benefit all Americans. A primary role is to serve as the research and reference arm of the Congress. Through the Congressional Research Service (CRS), a department established over 60 years ago, the Library provides legislators with the information they need to govern wisely and effectively. The staff of CRS answers about 450,000 inquiries a year, ranging from simple requests for data to highly complex in-depth studies. In addition, CRS prepares bill digests, summaries of major legislation, and other reference tools to help Members and their committees stay abreast of the daily flow of legislation.

The CRS staff of 860 ranges from civil engineers and oceanographers to labor arbitrators and experts on Soviet rocketry. Their most important function is to provide objective, unbiased information to the Congress, presenting the pros and cons of each issue so that Members can make their own decisions on the basis of complete knowledge of the problems involved.

The staff of the Law Library, a department created by an Act of Congress more than 150 years ago, is the research arm of the Congress for questions regarding foreign law. The Law Library answers congressional requests for analyses of foreign legislation and legal developments. Translations of foreign laws are handled by the Law Library's legal specialists, who are proficient in 50 different languages.

COPYRIGHT PROTECTION

The Copyright Office in the Library of Congress administers the operation of the United States copyright law, a major force for the encouragement of literary and artistic endeavors. The protection afforded by copyright extends to works of the Nation's creative community, including authors, composers, artists, and filmmakers. The copyright registration record maintained by the office provides a valuable record of American cultural and technological growth and innovation.

The Copyright Card Catalog and post-1977 automated files provide an index to copyright registrations and copyright transfers in the United States from 1870 to present. More than half a million registrations are added to the record every year. The Copyright Office also provides information about copyright protection, the copyright law, and copyright registrations, renewals, and documents of

13 **How does the Library acquire its holdings?**

They are acquired by copyright deposit, exchange with libraries in this country and abroad, gifts, transfer from other government agencies, official donations from local, state and foreign governments, requisition, and purchase. Materials are added to the collections of the Library at a rate of 7,000 items per working day. Selection officers review materials and decide which should be retained and added to the permanent collections.

14 **What is the Library doing to preserve its collections?**

The Library estimates the loss of valuable materials printed on acidic papers at 77,000 volumes per year. To combat this problem and preserve its collections, a number of programs have been initiated to supplement more traditional methods like microfilming. A deacidification process, which restores an alkaline content to the paper and retards embrittlement, has been developed by the Library's preservation research staff and should be in operation by 1991. Digital optical disks are being processed to store printed materials, including periodicals, maps, manuscripts, and sheet music. A one-sided disk can store up to 15,000 pages of text.

15 **Who can use the Library and check books out?**

The Library of Congress is a reference library and does not operate like a public library. Its vast resources of 81 million items are available for research in the Library by the public regardless of nationality, and to anyone 18 years of age or older. Students and scholars are encouraged to use university or public libraries before seeking materials in the Library of Congress collections. Hard-to-find materials, not available locally or regionally, may be borrowed from the Library of Congress through interlibrary loan.

16 **Where is the Reading Room?**

There are 22 general and special reading rooms within the buildings of the Library of Congress. The Main Reading Room, with its beautifully decorated dome, is located on the first floor of the Thomas Jefferson Building and can be viewed from the Visitor's Gallery. The room is temporarily closed for renovation.

17 **Where is the Copyright Office?**

The Copyright Office is located on the fourth floor of the Madison Building. It has handled more than 20 million copyright registrations and transfers since 1790, and currently deals with nearly half a million new registrations each year. Its card catalog, with more than 45 million cards, is the largest in the world. A colorful exhibit documenting landmark cases in the history of copyright in the United States is on view during business hours in the fourth floor corridor.

18 **Where can I see the most treasured documents of the Library of Congress?**

Although the Library places many historically important documents and treasured items on display from time to time, they are usually stored under special conditions for preservation reasons and are not available for viewing without advance arrangements. The Gutenberg Bible is, however, on permanent display in a specially designed case in the Great Hall of the Jefferson Building. Changing exhibits are mounted in reading rooms and public areas in all buildings. They are listed in the monthly *Calendar of Events.*

19 **Where is the Card Catalog?**

The extensive main catalog of more than 25 million cards is located on the first floor of the Jefferson Building, beginning in the Main Reading Room and continuing into adjacent rooms. Also housed there is the Computer Catalog Center with computer terminals that provide public access to approximately 10 million records in computer databases. While the Main Reading Room is closed for renovation, the public may access the catalog from the Social Science Reading Room on the 5th floor of the John Adams Building.

20 **Where can I see the Library's collections of priceless violins, flutes, and other musical instruments?**

These instruments are part of the Music Division's collection of 7 million pieces, which includes autograph scores, correspondence of composers and musicians, flutes from around the world, and rare Stradivarius instruments with Tourte bows. Advance arrangements should be made with the Music Division to view any of these items.

21 **Where can I go to look up my family history?**

The Local History and Genealogy Section suggests that to make your search easier, you first consult your local public library for guides to genealogical research. Upon request, a brochure about the Library's local history and genealogy collection can be obtained from the General Reading Rooms Division, in Room LJ 244 of the Jefferson Building.

22 **Can I see films from the Library's collections?**

Public screenings are scheduled in the Mary Pickford Theater. A quarterly schedule of the free film screenings is available from the Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division (Madison Building, Room LM 336) or the Information Office (Madison Building, Room LM 105).

23 **How can I find out about free public events at the Library?**

A monthly *Calendar of Events* listing exhibits, concerts, films, literary programs, and other special events is free at the Information and Sales counters in the Jefferson and Madison Buildings, or by mail from Library of Congress, Central Services Division, Printing and Processing Section, Washington, DC 20540.

24 **Where can I get something to eat?**

The Library cafeteria, located on the sixth floor of the Madison Building, is open to the public from 9 a.m. to 10:30 a.m. and 12:30 p.m. to 3 p.m., Monday through Friday (closed between 10:30 a.m. and 11 a.m.). Groups should make reservations by calling 707-8300. There are snack bars and food and beverage machines located in all the Library buildings.

25 **Where is the nearest Metro stop?**

Capitol South Metro Station, served by the Orange and Blue lines, is located near the corner of 1st and C Streets, S.E. Metro Bus stops are located near the Library grounds and a schedule can be obtained at the Capitol South subway station.

Telephone Numbers:

General Information
(202) 707-6400

Concert Information
(202) 707-5502

Lecture Information
(202) 707-5394

Specific Information
(202) 707-5000

Public Reference Information
(202) 707-5522

Hours (Exhibit Halls)

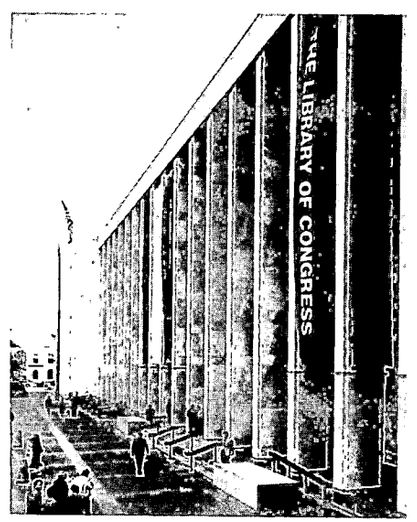
Monday through Friday,
8:30 a.m.-9:30 p.m.

Saturday, 8:30 a.m.-6:00 p.m.

Sunday, 1:00 p.m.-5:00 p.m.

Holidays, Closed

25 *Questions Most Frequently Asked by Visitors*



THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

1 What is the Library of Congress?

The Library serves as the research and reference arm of the Congress and is recognized as the national library of the United States. Its collections comprise the most comprehensive record of the history, cultures, and knowledge of the nation and the world. Open for use by all adults, without charge or restriction, it is the world's largest library and a great resource to scholars and researchers.

2 How does the Congress use the Library?

Nearly five hundred thousand inquiries are received annually and answered by the Congressional Research Service (CRS), the main division of the Library that serves the Congress. Staffed by specialists on such topics as economics, foreign affairs, the environment, and natural resources policy, CRS supplies Congress with unbiased information and data to support policy decisions. Another division of the Library that works very closely with Congress is the Law Library. With the world's largest and most comprehensive collections in foreign, international, and comparative law, it serves as the foreign law research arm of Congress.

3 Who is in charge of the Library of Congress?

The Library is directed by The Librarian of Congress, who is appointed by the President of the United States and confirmed by a vote of the Senate. Since the founding of the Library there have been 12 Librarians of Congress. Although a presidential appointee, the Librarian reports to a joint committee of Congress concerning the programs of the Library of Congress.

4 How many visitors does the Library serve?

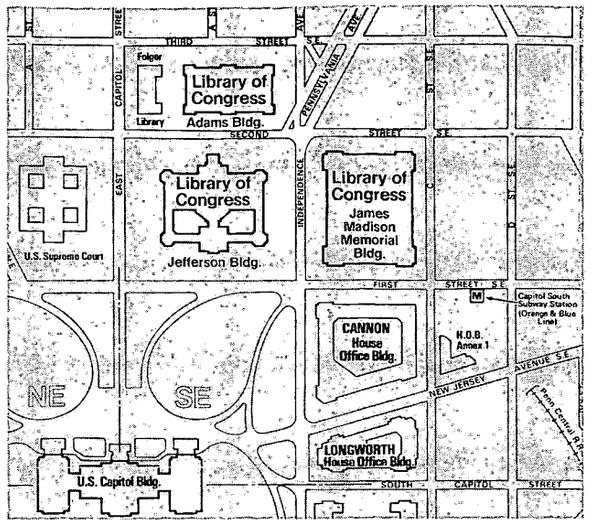
The Library, with a staff of more than 5,000, serves some two and a half million people annually. Children as well as adults are welcome on Library tours.

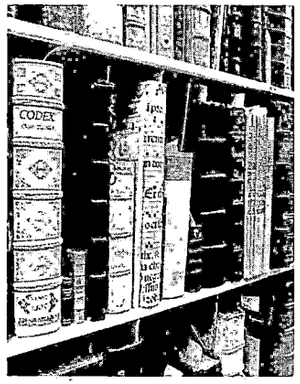
5 When was the Library built?

After its founding in 1800, the library was housed in a boarding house and later in the Capitol. Its first permanent building—now the Thomas Jefferson Building—was opened in 1897. The John Adams Building was completed in 1939 and the James Madison Memorial Building in 1980.

6 Who designed the Jefferson Building and how much did it cost?

Its construction was based on a design, submitted in competition, by architects Smithmeyer and Pelz. The building cost almost $6.5 million, less than anticipated, so that about $150,000 was returned to the Congress.







7 Who were the artists for the Jefferson Building?

More than 50 American sculptors and painters were commissioned to create the building's sculptures, murals, and mosaics. The structure was intended to be a showplace for the art and culture of the young nation and remains one of the most admired buildings of the period.

8 Has the Jefferson Building ever been renovated?

In 1964–65 the Main Reading Room was given a new floor, new lighting, heating and ventilation, and book carrier system. Other areas have received periodic cleaning. The first comprehensive renovation and restoration program for the Jefferson and Adams Buildings was initiated in the spring of 1985 after an appropriation by Congress of $81.5 million. The project is anticipated to take place over a number of years.

9 Are there tours of the Library?

"America's Library," a slide/sound presentation, is shown in the orientation theater on the ground floor of the Jefferson Building daily at 15 minutes before the hour from 8:45 a.m. to 8:45 p.m. and from 8:45 a.m. to 5:45 p.m. weekends and holidays. On Monday through Friday, from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m., the slide show is followed by a free guided tour. Arrangements for group tours should be made by calling the Tour Office, (202) 707–5458.

10 May I take photographs in the Library?

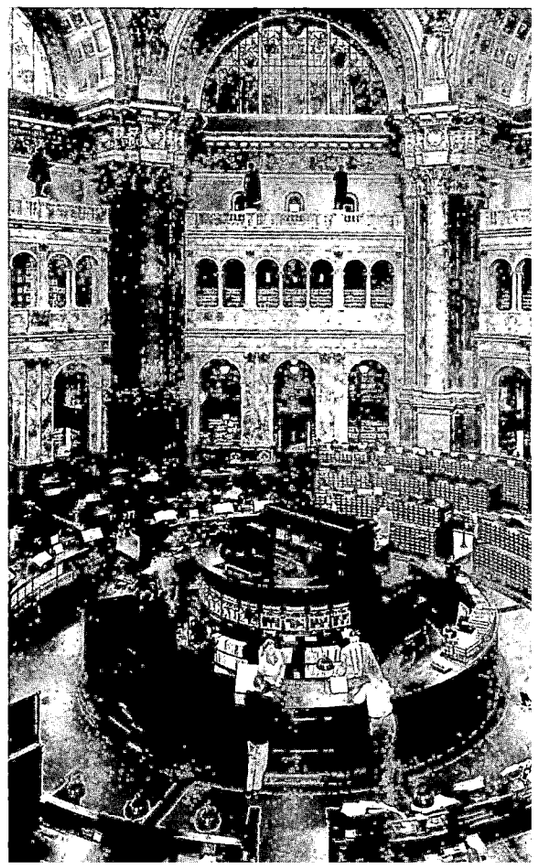
Snapshots for personal use may be taken in public areas. The use of flash attachments is not permitted in the Visitor's Gallery or in any reading room. Permission to use a tripod must be obtained from the Information Office, James Madison Memorial Building, Room LM 105. Any videotaping or filming, either indoors or outdoors on Library grounds, must also be cleared with the Information Office.

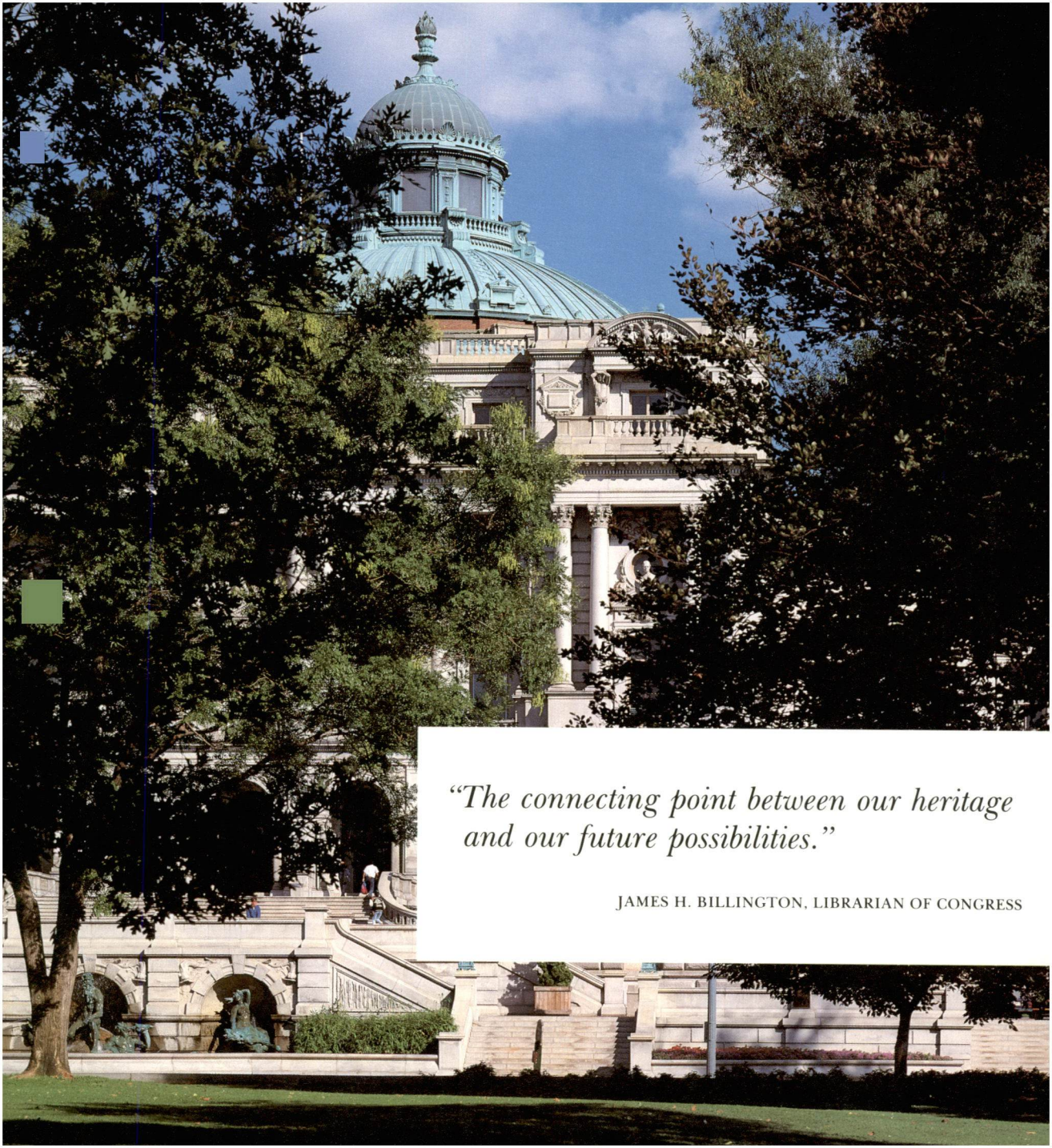
11 Does the Library have a copy of every book published in the United States?

No, but it does have more than 26 million books and pamphlets, including publications and other materials in some 470 languages.

12 Where are the books?

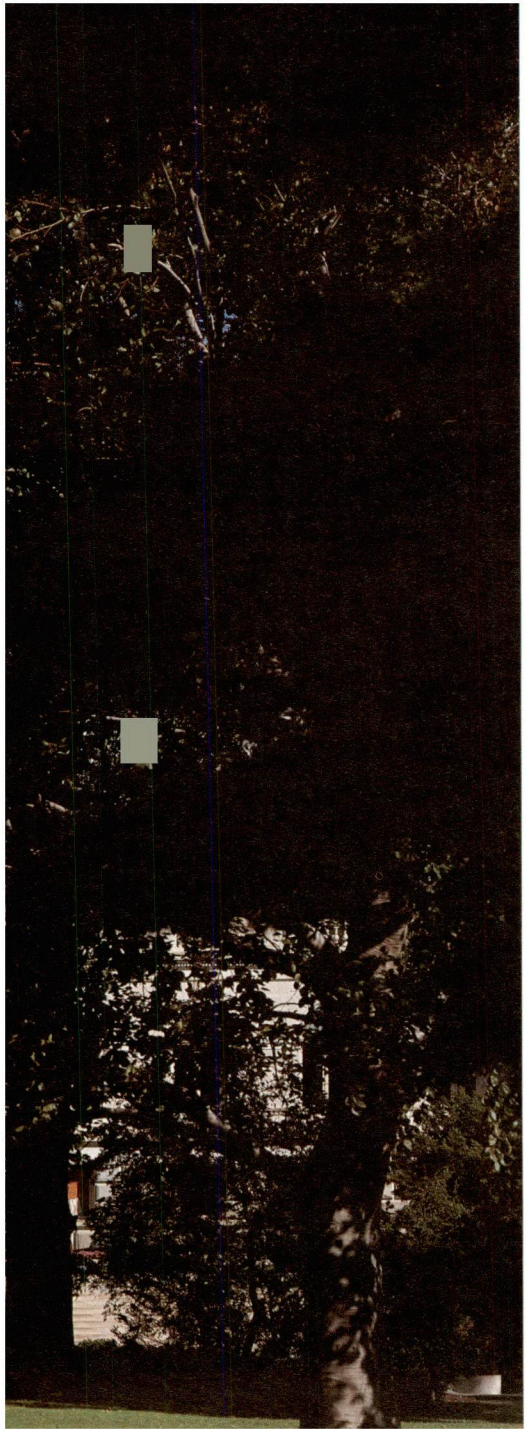
Books and other materials are shelved on some 535 miles of shelves in the stacks of the Jefferson and Adams Buildings with the non-book materials stored primarily in the Madison Building.





"The connecting point between our heritage and our future possibilities."

JAMES H. BILLINGTON, LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS



JAMES H. BILLINGTON

was appointed thirteenth Librarian of Congress by the President of the United States and was sworn in on September 14, 1987. An author and historian, as well as educator and administrator, Dr. Billington came to the Library from the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, which he directed for fourteen years. The quotes on the following pages were taken from his public remarks since coming to the Library.

View of the Library's Thomas Jefferson Building



"Libraries are today's living link between the record of yesterday and the possibilities of tomorrow . . . Millions everywhere benefit from these collections. The Library of Congress staff keeps them healthy for the variety of users who come here to blend memory with desire into hope: the researcher seeking truth, the artists creating beauty, and the legislator devising good policy."

"There are two general directions in which the Library of Congress should move simultaneously: out more broadly and in more deeply. Moving out means making the riches of this institution even more broadly available to ever wider circles of our multiethnic society . . . moving in more deeply means generating knowledge and distilling wisdom. These will be our objectives as we prepare to celebrate in the year 2000, the 200th birthday of the library Thomas Jefferson founded."

James H. Billington



THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS is a storehouse for knowledge and an active center for research and creativity of all kinds—the world's largest and most open library. It includes reading materials in 460 languages; the basic manuscript collections of 23 Presidents of the United States, and the papers of thousands of other figures who have shaped history; maps and atlases that have aided explorers and navigators in charting both the world and outer space; the earliest motion pictures and examples of recorded sound, as well as the latest data bases and software packages.

The Library serves as the basic research arm of the Congress through its Congressional Research Service, which is the largest public policy "think tank" in America and annually answers nearly a half-million inquiries from and produces some 1,000 reports for the Congress. The Library also serves the Congress and the nation through its administration of the Copyright Office, the National Library Service for the Blind and Physically Handicapped, the Law Library, and its extensive, multi-lingual program of research services.

In serving the nation, the Library of Congress also:

—aids other libraries throughout the nation and the world by cataloging new publications in all languages

—works with research libraries worldwide in the exchange of information and scholarship

—applies new technology to preserve, restore, and transmit library resources

—documents ethnic heritage in its folklife archives

—advances scholarship through a Council of Scholars

—encourages reading through the Center for the Book

—documents family and regional history in its genealogy collections

—produces exhibitions, publications and public programs

The Social Sciences Reading Room
in the John Adams Building is
one of 21 Library of Congress reading rooms.

"This library must be a center of hospitality for those who create new ideas for the future as well as for those who conserve old writings from the past . . . a place to celebrate the life of the mind and its rejuvenating power for a free people."



Morris Abrams, Ralph Nader, and Librarian of Congress Emeritus Daniel J. Boorstin exchange ideas at a Council of Scholars luncheon.



Novelist John Updike with Fritz Raddatz, German journalist, novelist and biographer; Inge Feltrinelli, Italian publisher; and Heinrich Ledig-Rowohlt, German publisher and translator at the first annual Wheatland Conference on Literature at the Library of Congress.



Secretary of State George Shultz addressing a Library of Congress symposium on "Knowledge and Power."



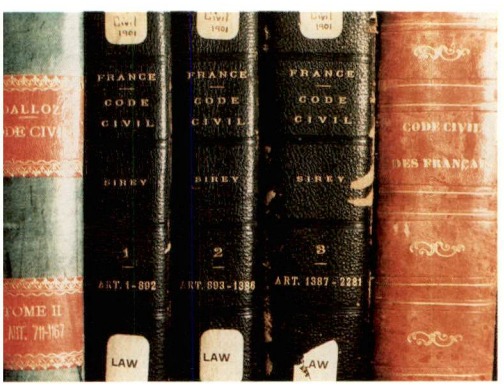
James Billington talks with Representative Lindy Boggs at a Library of Congress forum in New Orleans.

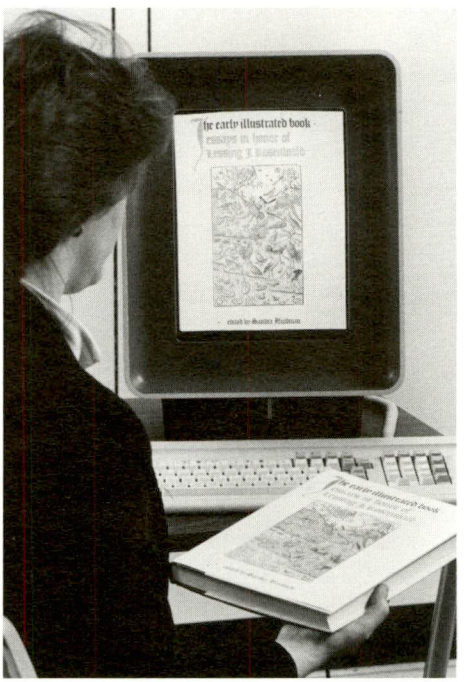


Alexander Proshkin, director of acclaimed Russian film "The Cold Summer of 1953," speaks to congressional guests in the Library's Pickford Theater. The film was one of two Russian films shown to Members of Congress in a historic film exchange.

"More than just a set of splendid facilities here in the heart of our Capital, this library is part of the American dream: a living witness to our abiding hope that each new generation will surpass the preceding one by increasing knowledge, ripening it into wisdom, and creatively applying it for human betterment."

The Library houses more than 86 million objects including formats as ancient as a Sumerian cuneiform tablet from 2040 B.C. and as modern as optical disc reproductions of color photographs from the Great Depression.

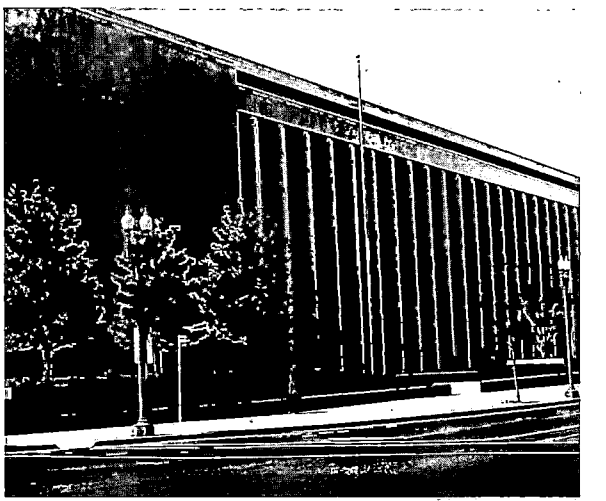




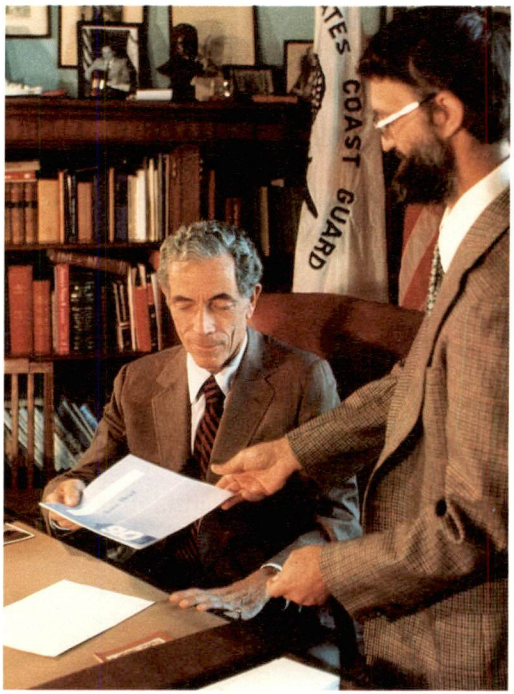
Last year the Library had more than two-and-a-half million visitors and conducted some 6,000 special tours in 26 languages.



"Uniquely among all great national libraries, this one is open to all people and collects in almost all disciplines, languages, and media of expression. Its very title bespeaks a distinctively American linkage of a library with a legislature and reflects a unique and historic determination among those who make laws for our people to be close to a place that seeks truth for all people."



The James Madison Memorial Building is the central administrative building of the Library and houses many of the Library's special multi-media collections.



Senator Claiborne Pell, Chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library, receives a Library of Congress report.



Koichiro Noda, Japanese television producer, talks with Mitsumasa Anno, internationally known illustrator of children's books, at a Library of Congress symposium on "Windows on Japan: Children, Books and Television."

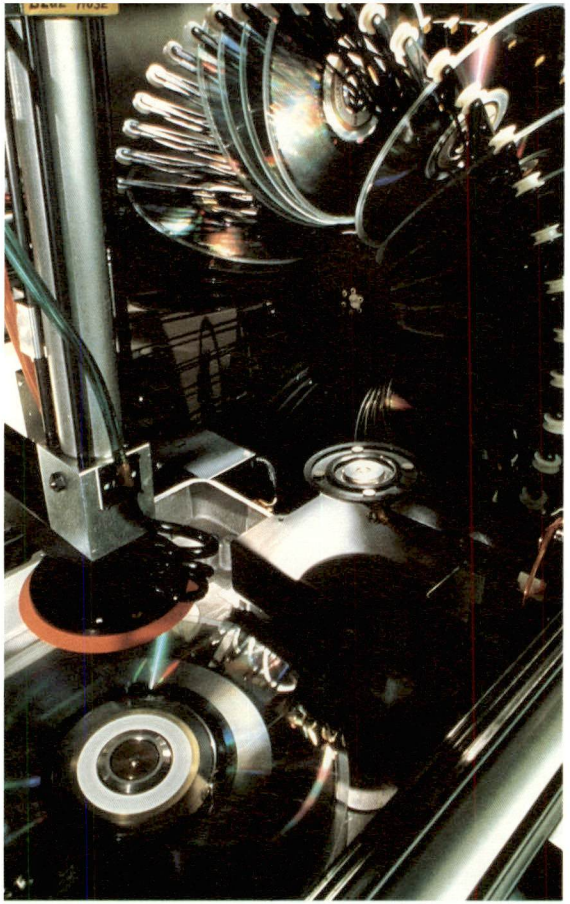
"The Library serves our legislators through the Congressional Research Service, not only by preparing analyses and reports, but by making specialists available who can relate to the legislators' needs for consultation and suggestions for information sources."

"The close relationship that exists between the Library of Congress and the libraries of the world can be strengthened and also enriched. Both the quality of our civilization and the competitiveness of our economy have been strengthened by the immigration of ideas from other parts of the world; and there is no better place in the world than the Library of Congress to learn what others are thinking and doing."



The Library maintains offices in six foreign countries and exchange programs throughout the world. Foreign acquisitions and U.S. materials add some 7,000 items a day to the collections.





Optical disc machines make information readily available.

The Library loses some 70,000 books a year from embrittlement. Library specialists have developed a gas deacidification process to extend the life of books. The Library also uses other techniques for preservation and conservation, as well as page by page treatment of specially valued works. Microfilm, microfiche, microforms, and micro-opaques continue to be used as well.



A rare book specialist re-binds a treasured volume in our Conservation Office.

"The application of new technologies at the Library of Congress enables us to become less preoccupied with the means and freer to pursue the ends of enhancing the direct interaction between people and ideas within and beyond the Library."

"As far as organizing and illuminating the human mind is concerned, books have played an absolutely extraordinary role. The creation of modern democracy is inconceivable without the book. . . . I see a great future for the book in the Library's plans."



Research chemist at work in the Preservation Research and Testing Office.



In addition to the National Union Catalog, the Library provides catalog cards and other bibliographic services, such as compact discs (CD-Rom), microfiches, and machine-readable catalog (MARC) tapes.

"The Library, through the diversity of rich collections and talented staff, is well-qualified to be of assistance to the nation and the world. Through their own scholarship, staff members have exemplified creativity and leadership in a variety of fields. . . ."



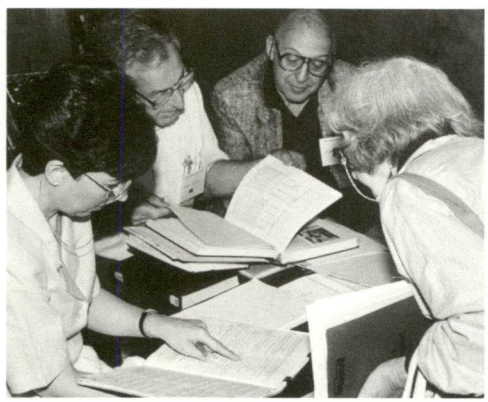
The more than 200 public events at the Library of Congress during any given year include concerts of chamber music performed by the Julliard String Quartet on Stradivari instruments from the Library's Music Division. The Library, with its literary and poetry programs, traveling exhibits, film series, folk concerts, symposia and lectures, has been called "the unquiet library."



Marc Parfait, American Library Association

Prize-winning photograph from a contest sponsored by the Center for the Book. There are twenty affiliated state Centers for the Book to promote reading and books throughout the nation.

"The Library of Congress is an important point of intersection between the world's most powerful democratic legislature and the world's most ambitious national educational system. We have the obligation to inform our government with the best data and scholarship, and we have the opportunity to guide our educational system to better understand our government and our world."



Intense research in the Library's Hebraic Section which is one of three sections in the African and Middle Eastern Division.

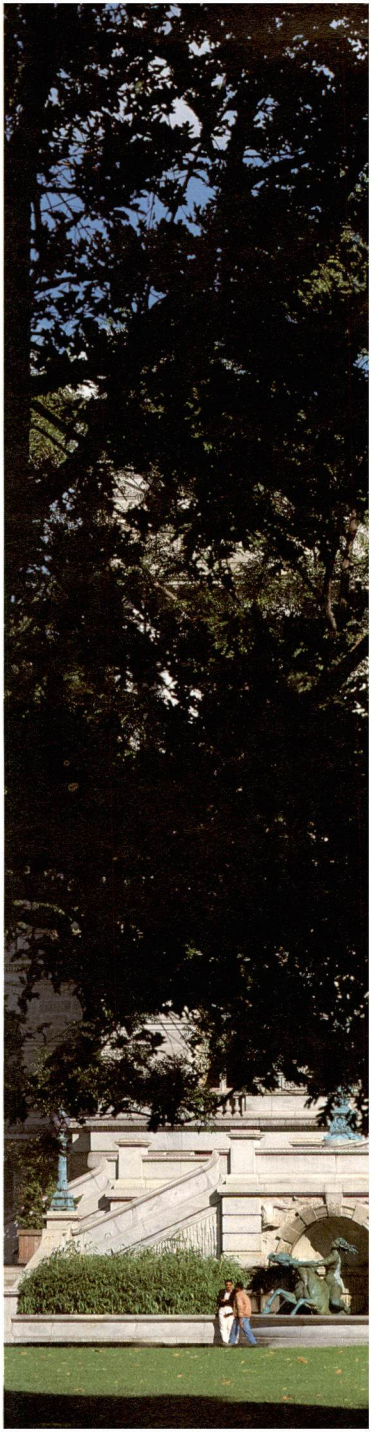


"The Library of Congress has a destiny to be a living encyclopedia of democracy: not just a mausoleum of culture, but a catalyst for civilization."

The Great Hall of the Thomas Jefferson Building.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, founded in 1800, is housed in a three-building complex across from the nation's Capitol in Washington, D.C. The Thomas Jefferson Building, shown on the cover, was completed in 1897. Designed in Italian Renaissance style, it is elaborately decorated with sculpture, murals and mosaics. It houses the Main Reading Room used by thousands of scholars and visitors annually. The adjacent John Adams Building (1939) and the James Madison Memorial Building (1981) complete the complex.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20540
202 707 5000



All photos by LC Photo Services unless otherwise noted.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20540

PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICE

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS YEAR AT A GLANCE
FISCAL YEAR 1989

—Welcomed 2,357,229 users and visitors.

—Held 90,538,234 items, including:

14,829,080 books in the classified collections.

75,709,154 items in the nonclassified collections. These included:

—12,426,138 books in large type and raised characters, incunabula, monographs and serials, music, bound newspapers, pamphlets, technical reports, and other printed material.

—1,350,165 audio materials, such as disks, tapes, and other recorded formats.

—36,992,230 total manuscripts, plus 43,037 music manuscripts.

—3,945,770 maps.

—7,686,396 microforms.

—13,093,916 visual materials, including 125,000 motion pictures, 11,475,442 photographs, 64,078 posters, 278,469 prints and drawings, 65,408 videotapes and videodisks, and 1,085,519 other visual materials.

—Completed full-level cataloging of 183,991 titles. The Copyright Office cataloged 619,543 registrations.

—Answered 477,096 inquiries through the Copyright Office.

—Completed 501,546 research assignments for the Congress through the Congressional Research Service.

—Conducted public tours for 33,328 visitors and special tours, available in 25 languages, for 9,235 special visitors; coordinated 190 special events. 778,809 visitors were helped throughout the year.

—Circulated more than 20,200,000 disk, cassette, and braille items to more than 712,300 blind and physically handicapped patrons.

—Had more than 11,393,431 million records in computer databases.

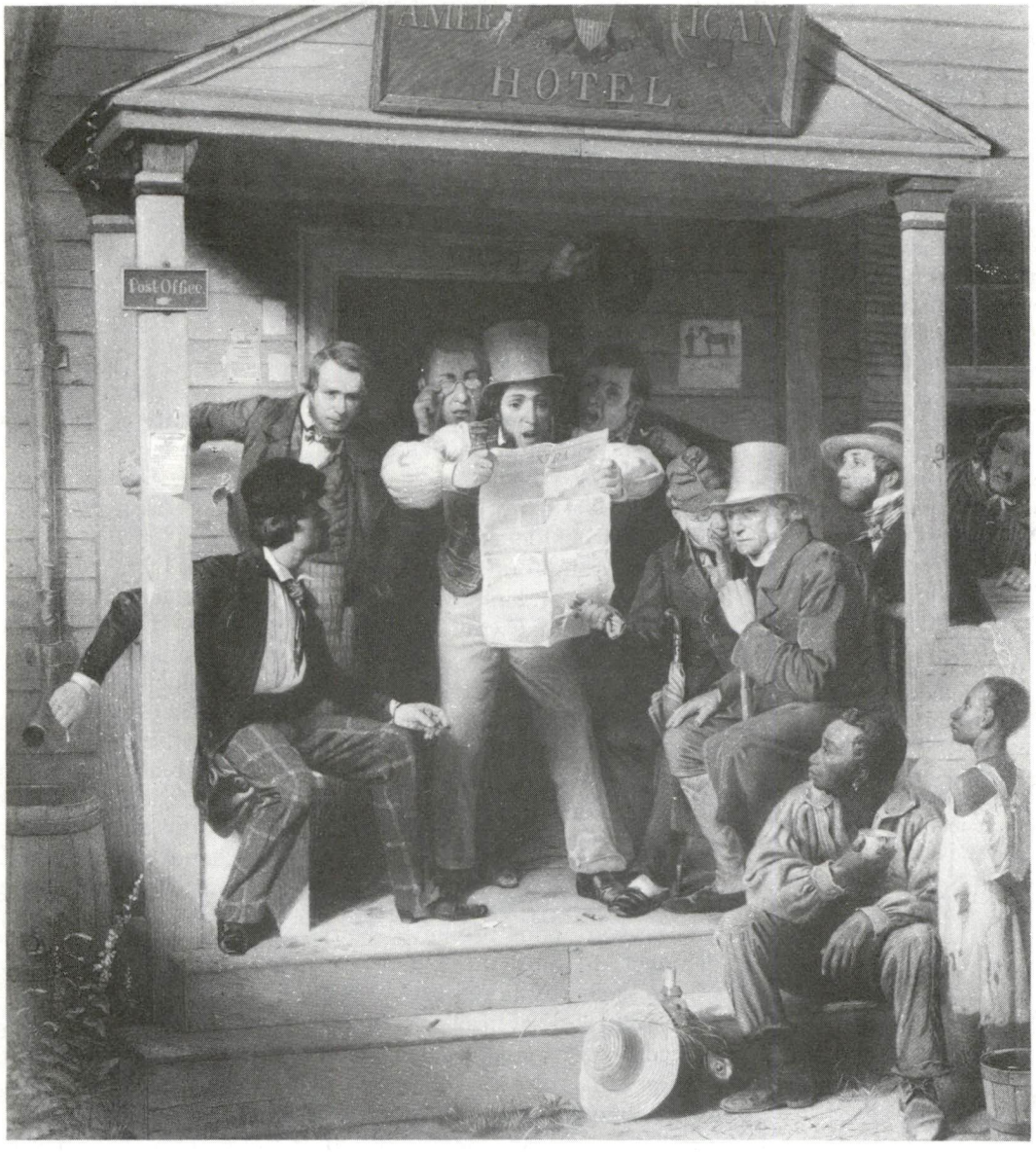
—Employed a staff of 4,731 employees.

—Operated with a total fiscal 1989 appropriation of $264,202,000.

Library of Congress

INFORMATION BULLETIN

Vol. 49, No. 6 Published Biweekly March 12, 1990



Major Library of Congress Exhibition on the American Journalist Opens April 5

See page 103

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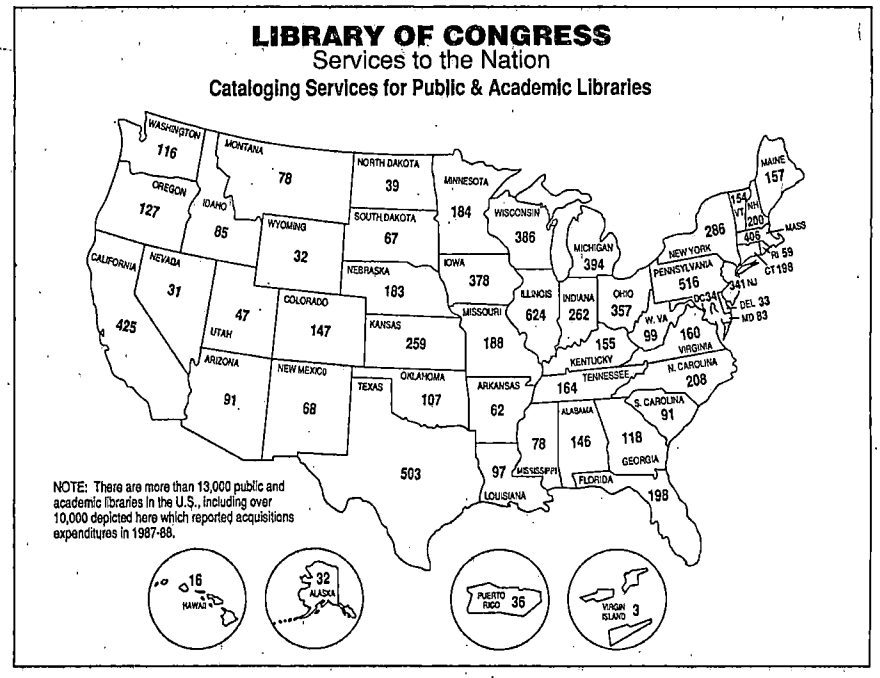
Mexican News. Lithograph by Alfred Jones, engraver, after a painting by Richard Caton Woodville. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

The *Library of Congress Information Bulletin* is issued biweekly by the Public Affairs Office of the Library of Congress and distributed free of charge to publicly supported libraries and research institutions, academic libraries, learned societies, and allied organizations in the United States.

Comparable institutions and organizations in other countries may arrange to receive the *Bulletin* on an exchange basis by applying in writing to the Library's Exchange and Gift Division. All other correspondence should be addressed to the LC *Information Bulletin*, Public Affairs Office, Library of Congress, Washington, DC 20540.

Alice Taylor, Acting Editor

Sharing Resources with the Nation



Map A

The Library of Congress makes a major contribution to the American people by helping the nation's libraries catalog books and acquire materials. It also provides direct services—many of them unpublicized—to library users around the nation by sharing books and information with local libraries that would be otherwise inaccessible in local communities.

In his recent testimony before the House Subcommittee on Legislative Branch Appropriations, Librarian of Congress James H. Billington supported the Library's 1991 budget request in part by describing the great value of these services.

The seven maps presented here demonstrate how the Library of Congress shares its resources with people and libraries in all parts of the United States. In many cases these services can be provided at very little extra cost to the Library of Congress, but they may mean great savings to the individual libraries.

Sharing Resources: The Library of Congress Today

Cataloging Services To the Nation's Libraries

As the Library of Congress catalogs the materials it acquires—books, serials, and special formats such as maps, music, and films—it makes the cataloging records available to other libraries through its Cataloging Distribution Service (CDS).

These bibliographic data come in several formats, including microfiche, cards, book catalogs, magnetic tape, and CD-ROM. CDS distributes machine-readable records to individual libraries as well as to the bibliographic utilities (central databases of bibliographic records that are shared by members). It is through the bibliographic utilities that the widest use is made of the Library's cataloging data.

It is estimated that the Library of Congress (with a total 1990 budget

(Cont. on p. 108)

The American Journalist: A Library of Congress Exhibition Explores the Paradoxical Role of the Press

As recently as this morning's headlines—"New Zealand and the Media Madness: Backlash Against the Pack Following Young Hilary" and "U.S. Denies Report of High-Level Talks with Iranians on Freeing the Hostages"—the American press generates mixed reactions among the reading public. Are they invaders of privacy or seekers of the truth?

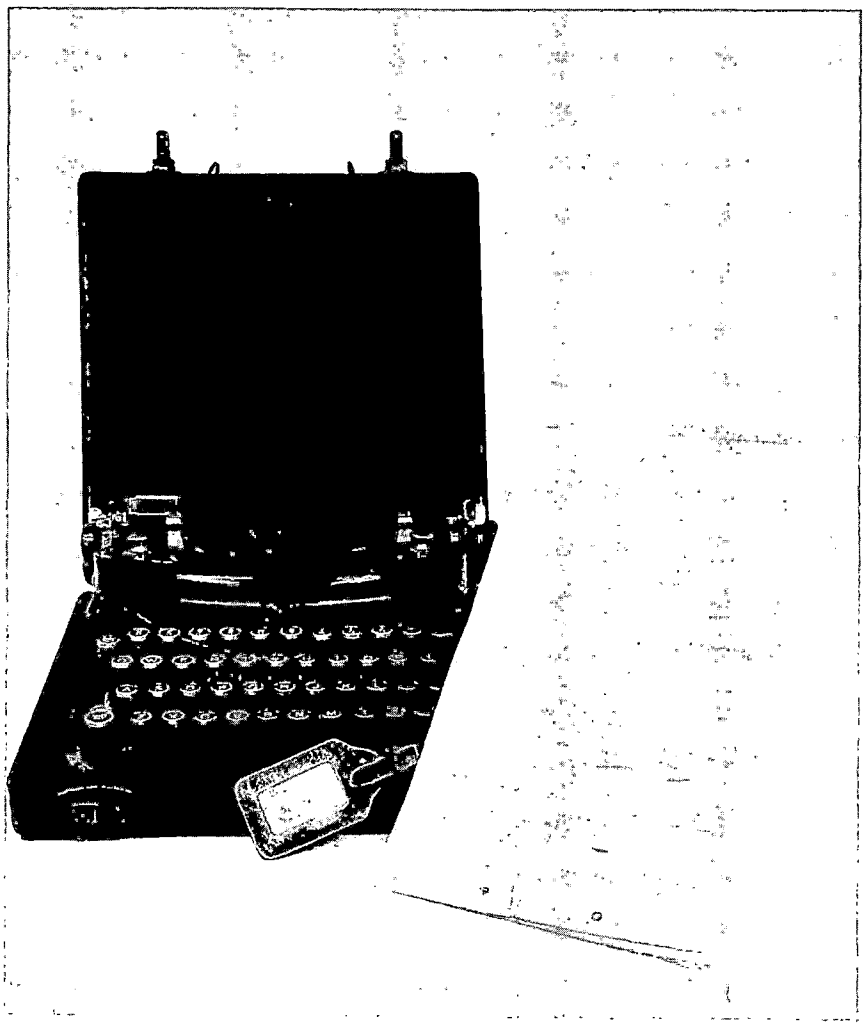
The Library of Congress will explore these and related issues in a major exhibition titled "The American Journalist: Paradox of the Press," which opens in the Madison Gallery at the Library on April 5 and runs through August 12.

As exhibition curator David Halaas notes, the American public has long held mixed views about the appropriate role of the media: "On the one hand members of the press are seen as truthseekers and watchdogs of government; on the other hand they're seen as gossipmongers and purveyors of slander. That's the basic paradox."

In this exhibition American journalism is explored simultaneously from two angles: historically, from its colonial roots through the sensationalist yellow press of the turn of the century; and individually, through the unique personalities of American journalists who have left their mark on the way journalism is practiced today.

Prepared by the Library of Congress in cooperation with the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE), the exhibition is made possible by a $325,000 grant from the Gannett Foundation.

Drawing on the Library's vast and varied holdings, from newspapers and private diaries to motion pictures and cartoons, the exhibition offers a critical look at the 300-year history of journalism in America and at journalists and their place in American society. All told, there will be some 400 items on display.



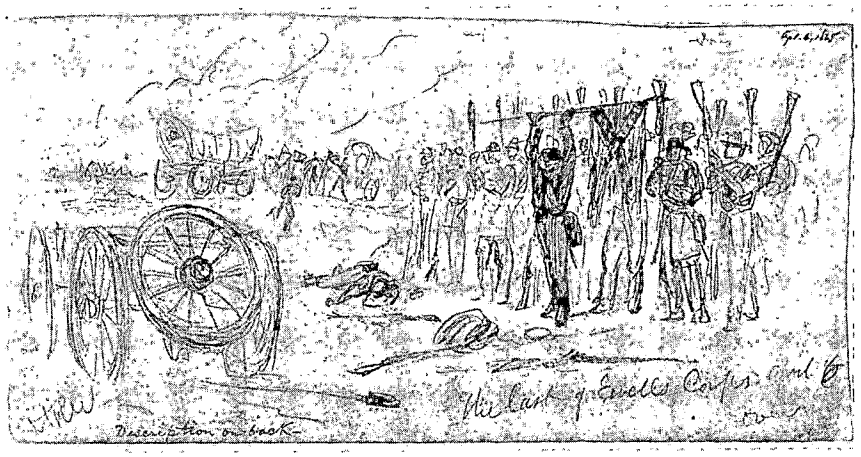
Ernie Pyle's typewriter and one of his typed dispatches. (Typewriter loaned by the Indiana School of Journalism; dispatch loaned by Scripps Howard News Bureau, Washington, D.C.)

Exhibition Highlights

The exhibition opens with the only surviving copy of the first newspaper published in North America, *Publick Occurrences, Both Forreign and Domestick* (on loan from the Public Record Office of London), published by Boston printer and bookseller Benjamin Harris on September 25, 1690. It is immediately followed by the broadside issued four days later "By the Governour and Council" (of Massachusetts) suppressing the newspaper.

These two items establish one of the exhibition's main themes: the public's ambivalent attitude toward the press in America and the limits placed upon it from its earliest beginnings. *(Cont. on p. 104)*





Above: *Alfred R. Waud, Civil War news illustrator.* Below: *Waud's pencil drawing, "The Last of General Ewell's Corps," April 6, 1865. (Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.)*

Journalist *(Cont. from p. 103)*

In addition to *Publick Occurrences* and the order banning it, the exhibition will include such unique items as:

- pencil drawings by Alfred R. Waud and Edwin Forbes of events of the Civil War;
- the contents of Lincoln's pockets the night he was assassinated (which included five newspaper clippings);
- the copyright application, with cartoon, of the "Yellow Dugan Kid," who eventually came to symbolize "yellow journalism";
- the desk that belonged to William Allen White, the epitome of the small-town editor (whose papers are in the Library of Congress);
- the Norman Rockwell painting, "The Country Editor," on loan from the National Press Club in Washington, D.C.;
- Ernie Pyle's typewriter and two of his dispatches from the front;
- the pages from Bob Woodward's reporter's notebook recording the Watergate break-in.

Plan of the Exhibition

Continuing with the chronological history of journalism in America on the first level of the Madison Gallery, the exhibition examines colonial and revolutionary beginnings, and then progresses through the era of the partisan political press to the emergence of the mass press, the thirst for graphic representations of battle scenes during the Civil War, and "boom town" journalism.

It culminates in the colorful posters, cartoons, and shrieking headlines of the Hearst and Pulitzer yellow press of the late 19th century.

The second floor of the exhibition will be devoted to the story of the American journalist—the men and women who have devoted their lives to "getting the story."

Separate sections will deal with different kinds of journalists—for example: Arthur "Weegee" Fellig as street reporter; Ida Tarbell as investigator; Thomas Nast as crusader; Will Rogers as entertainer; Wilbur Storey as exploiter; Horace Greeley as persuader; and Ernie Pyle as war correspondent.

Fictional characters such as Clark Kent/Superman, Brenda Starr, and "reporter" Kermit the Frog, will be woven into the second level of the show, emphasizing the American public's fascination with the press and the people who make it work.

Design Elements

A number of eye-catching design elements have been planned by exhibition designers Benjamin Lawless and Jan Adkins to draw visitors into "The American Journalist," and to make their visit a memorable one.

☐ An 1888 folk art sculpture of a newsboy will be placed at the

entrance to the exhibition, and the image of a newsboy will be used throughout the exhibition to delineate the different sections.

☐ The existing statue of James Madison in the Madison Hall will be surrounded by a gigantic "front page" describing the exhibition, with the statue becoming, in effect, the central "illustration" for the page.

☐ A one-third size balloon carrying Nellie Bly will be constructed to represent the commission she received from Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* to beat Phileas Fogg's record of "Around the World in Eighty Days." (She made it in 72 days.)

☐ Cutouts of paparazzi figures will line the staircases leading to the second level of the exhibition area. Popping strobe lights, representing camera flash bulbs, and voices saying, "Just one more . . ." and "Do you have a comment? . . ." will help to convey the sense of how it feels to run the gauntlet of these persistent reporter/photographers.

☐ Caricatures of individuals who have commented on the freedom of the press will be specially commissioned for the concluding section of the exhibition, which illustrates how "the paradox of the press" has been a recurring theme throughout American history.

Audio-Visual Elements

Audio-visual elements on the second level of the exhibition will tell the story of the journalist through non-print media. A 10–12 minute videotape of film clips from the 1930s to the 1980s, titled "Have I Got A Story!," depicts journalism from Hollywood's point of view; audio excerpts of radio news programs from the 1930s and 1940s, and TV news clips from the 1950s to the 1980s, demonstrate broadcast journalists at work.

Companion Volume

A generously illustrated, 236-page companion volume, written by guest curator Loren Ghiglione, will go on sale at the exhibition when it opens. A hardbound trade edition will be published in the fall. (See excerpts, page 107.)

Mr. Ghiglione, editor of *The News,* Southbridge, Mass., and president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, said: "I'm especially pleased at the unique items that the exhibition will bring together for the first time."

Exhibition Support

Financial support for the exhibition was provided by the Gannett Foundation of Arlington, Va. Gannett is among the nation's largest private foundations, with assets of nearly $650 million. It funds community projects, national programs to improve the teaching and practice of journalism, programs promoting adult literacy and encouraging philanthropy and volunteerism, and scholarships.

The foundation also operates the Gannett Center for Media Studies at Columbia University, N.Y., and the Paul Miller Washington Reporting Fellowships in Washington, D.C.

The exhibition was created in cooperation with the American Society of Newspaper Editors, an organization of more than 1,000 editors of daily newspapers in the United States and Canada. Founded in 1922, the principal purpose of ASNE is to serve as a medium for exchange of ideas and the professional growth and development of its members.

"The American Journalist: Paradox of the Press" will be open to the public from 8:30 a.m. to 9:30 p.m., Monday through Friday, and from 8:30 a.m. to 6 p.m., Saturday and Sunday.

—Helen Dalrymple

The Making of an Exhibit

They gather around the big table in the Interpretive Programs Office in the Adams Building every day now—the team that is working furiously to wind up the final details of the "American Journalist" exhibition. Less than a month remains before the exhibition opens to the public.

How does an exhibition come to life at the Library of Congress?

It starts with the curatorial team. Loren Ghiglione, guest curator, is editor of *The News,* Southbridge, Mass., and current president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE). He has a Ph.D. in American Studies from George Washington University and a law degree and master's degree in urban studies from Yale.

The author of the book which is a companion volume to the exhibition, *The American Journalist: Paradox of the Press,* he is the only member of the team who is not on site on a daily basis. Via FAX and Federal Express, however, he is very much a part of the process and is regularly on the phone with the other members of the team.

David Halaas is the curator of the exhibition. He has taught history and has written a book on frontier journalism, *Boom Town Newspapers: Journalism on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier, 1859–1881.* He has a Ph.D. in history from the University of Colorado.

Associate curator of the exhibition is Sara Day. An art historian, photo researcher, and writer, Ms. Day has a masters degree in art history from American University. She began work on the exhibition in April 1989 as coordinator for the project. Her duties soon expanded to include photo research for the book, and she set up a new structural organization for the project. In August she moved to the curatorial side of the team.

Joanne Freeman, a curator and writer, took over as coordinator in

(Cont. on p. 106)

Curators *(Cont. from p. 105)*
October, after finishing her work on another major Library exhibition. As administrative coordinator, she keeps the project on schedule, acting as liaison between the designers, curators, and various divisions in the Library.

Corinne Szabo, a graphic designer and picture researcher, also began work on the exhibition last spring doing photo research for the book. She has a masters degree in fine arts from American University. When the photo research for the book was finished, Ms. Szabo turned her talents to the selection, editing, and production of the film, TV, and radio segments for the exhibition.

Bucky Wall, technical consultant, has been working with Corinne Szabo to prepare the video disc and tape that will control the four audio-visual elements in the exhibition: the film and television clips, the audio excerpts from radio broadcasts, and the flashing lights and comments from the "paparazzi" figures that will line the stairway.

The designers of the exhibition are Benjamin Lawless and Jan Adkins. Mr. Lawless was at the National Museum of American History for many years as director of exhibitions and now runs his own design firm. Jan Adkins, formerly associate art director for the *National Geographic,* is working as associate designer on this project.



The curatorial staff: Bucky Wall (left), Ben Lawless, Jan Adkins, Corinne Szabo, David Halaas, Joanne Freeman, and Sara Day. Loren Ghiglione is not pictured.

Why "The American Journalist"?

The idea for the exhibition was Loren Ghiglione's. "I've always had an interest in the fictional journalist as well as the real journalist, and I thought it would be fun to mount such an exhibition at a museum in Washington in time for the 1990 ASNE convention. I proposed the idea to the ASNE board, and they were enthusiastic."

Mr. Ghiglione took the idea to officials at the Library of Congress, who were equally enthusiastic. He found a funding source in the Gannett Foundation, and then proceeded to write the book which is the companion volume to the exhibition.

Given the Library's thrust as an institution and the breadth of its collections, it was clear that the exhibition would have a strong historical focus in addition to telling the story of the American journalist in myth and reality.

"We wanted to do something that no one else had ever done—an exhibit on journalism that featured people," said Dr. Halaas.

The Making of the Exhibition

An important part of the process of creating this exhibition is the way everyone has worked together. Each of the members of the team has a specific responsibility, but they all come together to share ideas and decide what will work and what won't.

"It's a symbiotic relationship," said Dr. Halaas. "An idea can be tremendous, but you need the input of the design person at the same time to find out if it's possible."

And the designers need to be reminded continually of the content of the show, so that the design elements are in tune with the kinds of things being displayed.

"It's quite an imaginative group," commented Mr. Ghiglione. "There is a certain amount of fun in the show—and a good mix of ideas that we all brought to it."

The team also works closely with other exhibits-related personnel and with conservation, curatorial, and reference staff throughout the Library.

"From the beginning, we have all done what had to be done," added Dr. Halaas. "Ben and Jan came up with some major design elements to entice people into the exhibition and to make it lively and interesting and fun. We've all interacted with each other and had a good time in the process. This is a good working group."

The last word on the look of "The American Journalist" was from designer Ben Lawless: "If we can get everything we want, it's going to be one hell of a good-looking show."

—Helen Dalrymple

Excerpts from *The American Journalist: Paradox of the Press*

Following are excerpts from the introduction to The American Journalist: Paradox of the Press *by Loren Ghiglione. The book, published by the Library of Congress, is a companion volume to the exhibition.*

Three hundred years ago Boston's Benjamin Harris published *Publick Occurrences Both Forreign and Domestick,* a newspaper that would cure, he promised, "that Spirit of Lying, which prevails amongst us." Harris's paper for September 25, 1690, was scrawny—three printed pages and a blank one—but jammed with news.

The paper reported a suicide by hanging, the spread of a smallpox epidemic, and developments in the French and Indian wars. . . .

The paper also reported a rumor about improprieties by the King of France. The Massachusetts government, opposed to Harris's unauthorized printing of "Reflections of a very high nature," suppressed the paper. The man who wanted to cure the lying spirit ended his career in England hawking "Angelical Pills" and other patent medicines.

Harris's *Publick Occurrences,* North America's first newspaper, is often described by historians as the opening chapter in the evolution of the American journalist—an evolution marked by at least three kinds of change.

First, technological improvements have made the dictionary definition of news—"report of a recent event"—mean something quite different today than it meant three hundred years ago. During the late seventeenth century, news from Europe reached American audiences months after the event. Today television and radio reporters often broadcast news from Europe—or almost anyplace else—as the event unfolds.

Technological change has also transformed the journalist's work. Isaiah Thomas and other colonial printers set type by hand, one letter at a time, and pulled newspapers off their manual presses at the rate of only one hundred to two hundred sheets an hour. Much faster power presses of the early nineteenth century resulted in penny papers for almost everyone. They spurred the growth of armies of reporters who could fill the papers with fresh news. The telegraph, trans-Atlantic cable, wireless, telephone, computer, and communications satellite accelerated the pace of reporting. Developments in picture-making—from wood engraving to halftone to today's four-color electronic still video photography—enhanced the accuracy, availability, and freshness of images. And the ubiquity of radio and television led to July 21, 1969—the day pictures from the moon were first broadcast live.

The second kind of change has expanded journalists' freedom. In the era of Benjamin Harris, free speech had no legal standing. The trial, in 1735, of John Peter Zenger, editor and publisher of the *New York Weekly Journal,* focused attention on the principles of freedom of the press and the journalist's right to criticize government. Guarantees of press freedom were written into nine of the first thirteen state constitutions and into the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Attacks on press freedom have been a constant of American history—from the suppression of *Publick Occurrences* . . . to the latest police searches of newsrooms for photos, videotapes and reporters' notes. But usually such attacks have been rebuffed by the Supreme Court. . . .

The third kind of change has affected the journalist's position in society. The American journalist, it could be said, began as a part-time amateur who put partisanship ahead of professionalism. . . . By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the journalist saw himself less as opinion maker and more as news reporter. . . .

The portrayal of the journalist as an increasingly professional, increasingly objective, increasingly important chronicler who has benefited from greater press freedom and accelerating technological change, masks certain realities. It hides the paradoxical nature of the American journalist. . . .

Any generalization about journalists of this generation meets with a counter-generalization. Media mottos—the New York *Times'* slogan of "All the News That's Fit to Print," and the sign-off of "And that's the way it is" by CBS's Walter Cronkite, dean emeritus of newscasters—declare, in effect, that the American journalist's work is comprehensive, accurate, and authoritative.

But social scientists and even some newspeople do not see the journalist telling it as it is . . . . David Broder, the Washington *Post*'s national political correspondent, describes the newspaper that journalists create daily as "a partial, hasty, incomplete, inevitably somewhat flawed and inaccurate rendering of some of the things we've heard about in the past 24 hours. . . ."

Some contend that the journalist has an obligation to serve as society's watchdog. . . .

But other journalists contend that the press really acts less as critic—as agent of change—than as passive puppet. . . .

The aggressiveness of the reporter, some claim, helps keep government honest. . . .

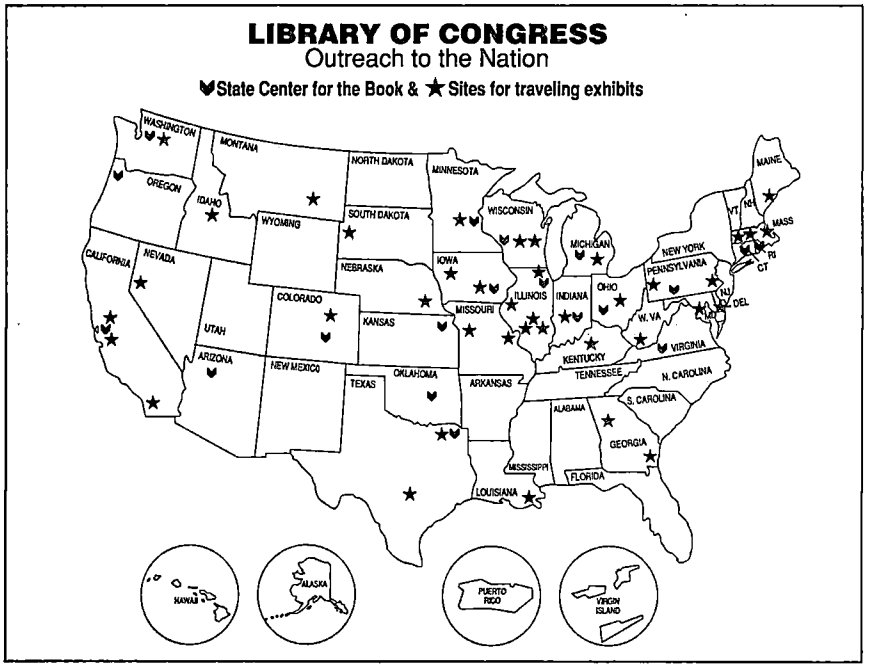
But others insist the press is an investigative pussycat—a timid lackey of the "state propaganda system"—regurgitating the viewpoints of government officials. . . .

Three centuries after the birth of the first American newspaper, the public is still deciding what kind of journalist it wants and what kind of freedom it will grant that journalist. A tug-of-war continues between the advocates of greater press freedom and those who prefer a less pugnacious, more "responsible" press. . . .

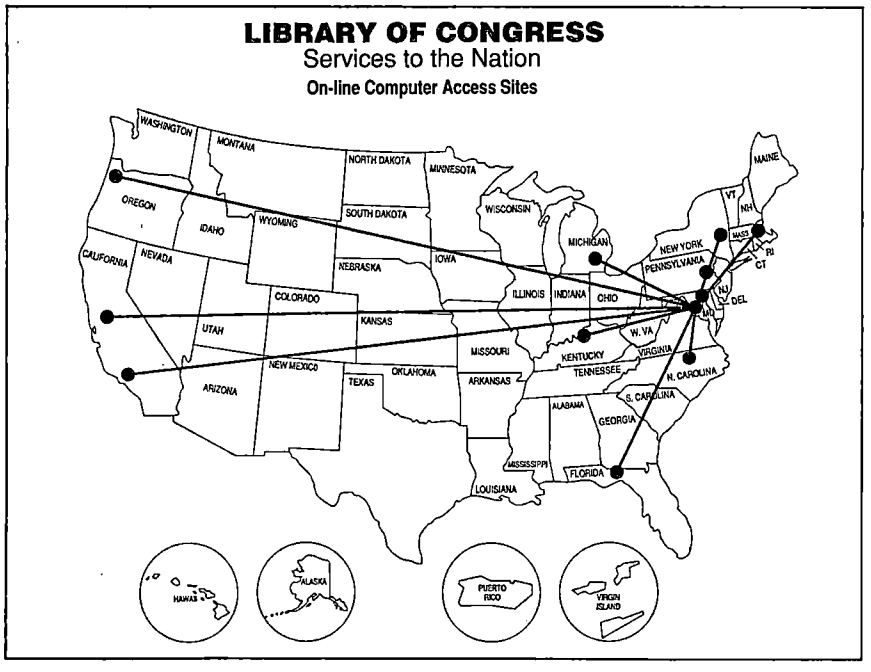
Resources *(Cont. from p. 102)*

authority of $253 million) saves the nation's public and academic libraries some $350 million every year because these libraries can use the cataloging records created by the Library of Congress rather than prepare original records for all of the materials they acquire.

Map A shows the number of public and academic libraries in every state which reported acquisitions statistics for books and other materials that they would have had to catalog themselves if the Library of Congress did not do the job.



Map B



Map C

Traveling Exhibitions

The Library of Congress shares the richness of its collections with the whole nation through its traveling exhibits program.

A major exhibition celebrating the 200th anniversary of the Congress, "To Make All Laws: The Congress of the United States, 1789–1989," opened at the Library of Congress in September 1989. A traveling version of that exhibition, using photo reproductions mounted on special freestanding panels, is now visiting 31 states around the country.

This traveling exhibition is cosponsored by the American Library Association and the Library of Congress, and it is made possible by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Other Library of Congress traveling exhibits, ranging from original engravings by contemporary Bulgarian printmakers to custom-printed photographs, are circulating in 13 other cities in the U.S.

Photo exhibits include White House newsphotographers' prize winners, pre-World War II scenes of the U.S., and pioneering color photographs of pre-revolutionary Russia.

Map B shows the sites for the current traveling exhibits.

State Centers for the Book

The Center for the Book in the Library of Congress was established by law in 1977 to stimulate public interest in books, reading, and libraries. It serves as a catalyst, working with other organizations to explore issues related to the crucial role of the printed word in our culture, to encourage reading, and to encourage research about books and reading.

Since 1984, 20 states have established statewide book centers that are affiliated with the Library's Center for the Book. These state centers use themes established by the Library of Congress and develop activities appropriate to their own state's book culture and literary heritage. Funding, staffing, and programming are the responsibilities of each state center.

Map B shows the location of the 20 state centers.

Online Computer Access

In September 1989 the Library of Congress went "online" with 14 libraries around the country.

In a pilot project to test dial-up access to the Library's computer databases, patrons in these 14 libraries can now get direct access to automated bibliographic, Congressional bill-status, copyright, and referral information from the Library of Congress.

The sites for "Project Rollup" include two Federal libraries and 12 public and university libraries. All of these institutions have long experience with online database access, and the necessary equipment to connect with the Library of Congress system; they have made a commitment to pay for the telecommunications costs involved.

Map C shows the sites of the 12 non-Federal libraries that are participating in Project Rollup.

Exchange of Cataloging Information

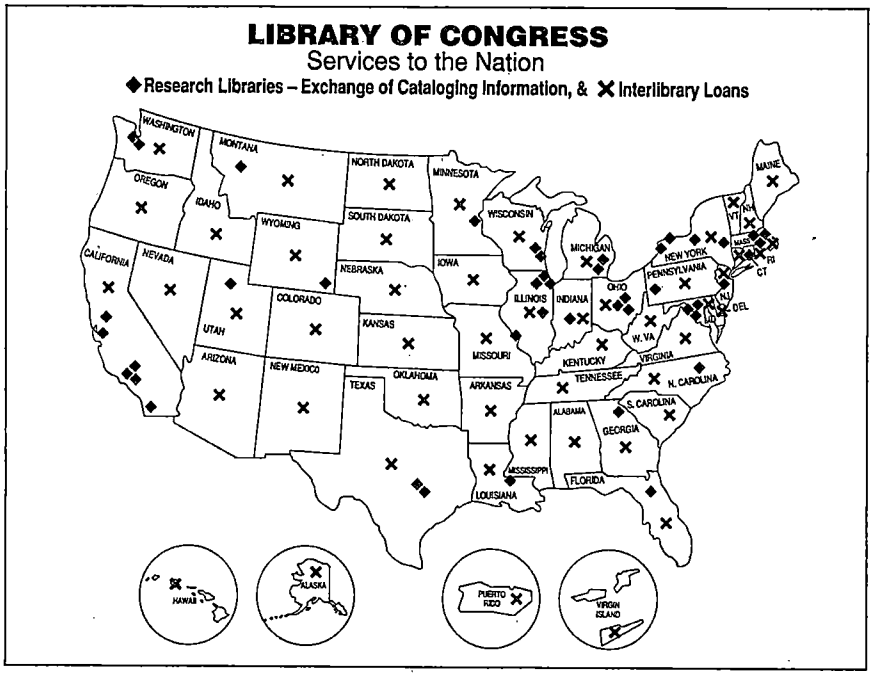
For more than ten years a number of research libraries and institutions around the nation have participated in a cooperative cataloging project with the Library of Congress to assist in the creation of bibliographic records for books, serials, and more recently, special format materials such as sheet music.

Through the National Coordinated Cataloging Operations (NACO), some 50 participants now establish and contribute name authority records to the national files so that they can be used by libraries around the country in creating permanent bibliographic records.

In addition, eight of the NACO members also create full bibliographic records for books, and some 15–20 members create bibliographic records for serial publications.

These records become part of the Library of Congress automated bibliographic database. All of these institutions are playing a major role in assisting the Library of Congress in its cataloging operations.

Map D shows the location of the NACO libraries and specialized institutions that participate in this cooperative cataloging project with the Library of Congress.



Map D

Interlibrary Loans

Libraries in every state of the nation are eligible to borrow books from the Library of Congress for their users. The materials they request from the Library are those that are not easily available elsewhere. Last year the Library of Congress processed almost 35,000 interlibrary loan requests.

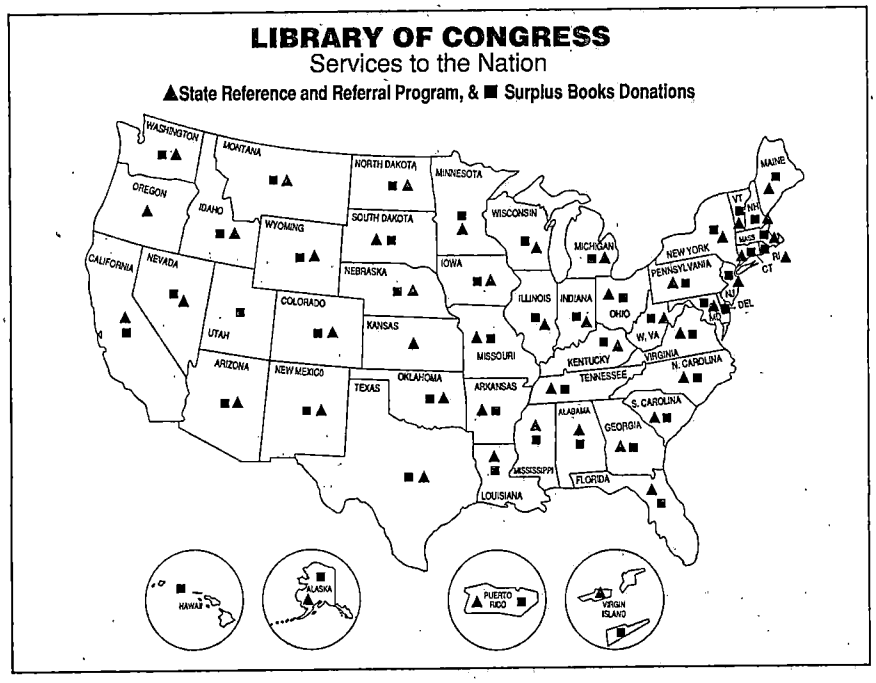
Map D provides visual evidence that library users from every state were able to borrow materials from the Library of Congress that they were not able to get in any other way.

State Reference and Referral Program

The Library of Congress supports the State Reference and Referral Program, in which 49 of the 50 states participate. The purpose of the program is to provide more efficient service to individuals who write to the Library of Congress or to their own library with reference questions.

When a letter is received in the Library of Congress that can be more efficiently answered by a state library agency somewhere else in the country, it is routed to that library for reply and the sender of the letter

(Cont. on p. 110)



Map E

Resources *(Cont. from p. 109)*
is informed of where the letter has been referred. Conversely, state libraries may refer letters that they receive to the Library of Congress reference unit if they can be more appropriately answered by the Library.

Under the terms of the reference correspondence agreements, all participating libraries agree to give priority to referred reference letters.

Map E shows that all of the states except for Hawaii participate in the State Reference and Referral Program with the Library of Congress.

Surplus Book Donations

The Library of Congress donates materials it does not need for its own collections to nonprofit, educational, tax-exempt organizations.

Representatives of such organizations must come to the Library of Congress to select the items they want, and they are responsible for the cost of shipping the books to their organizations.

These surplus materials come from three principal sources: from weeding the Library's collections (superseded reference works, for example); from other Federal agencies (that are required by law to send their surplus materials to the Library of Congress); and from the copyright deposit and Cataloging in Publication programs (copies received from publishers for cataloging purposes).

The Library's surplus books and magazines are first used for exchange purposes—to get other materials that the Library needs for its own collections. The second priority is other Federal libraries—to fill in gaps in their collections. Once selections have been made for these purposes, eligible nonprofit educational organizations may select from the Library's surplus materials for their own use.

Map E shows that educational organizations in every state but Kansas and Oregon took advantage of this surplus book program last year.

Foreign Acquisition Program

For its own collections, the Library of Congress buys materials from other countries all over the world. Through its foreign acquisition program, the Library assists 62 major American research libraries across the United States by acquiring foreign materials for their collections.

The Library of Congress also supplies catalog cards with the books they purchase for these other libraries. Participating libraries pay the cost of the publications for their organizations, plus administrative costs incurred by the Library of Congress in providing the service.

Because the Library has its own field offices in six countries and works with local book dealers, it can purchase materials at much better prices than the individual research libraries would be able to manage on their own. The Library of Congress estimates that the savings realized by the 62 participating libraries in 1989 amounted to $2 to $4 million.

Map F shows the location of the 62 libraries that participate in the Library's foreign acquisition program.

Reader Services to Blind and Physically Handicapped Individuals

The National Library Service for the Blind and Physically Handicapped (NLS/BPH) in the Library of Congress has been managing a free national reading service since 1931 for Americans who cannot read a standard printed book.

Today the selection of titles, the setting of production standards, and the manufacture of braille and audio books together with the necessary sound reproduction machines, are all the responsibility of NLS/BPH. The service also publishes informational materials and catalogs.

The actual distribution of reading materials to blind and physically handicapped individuals (except for U.S. citizens living abroad and in the case of music materials) is done

through a network of some 160 libraries around the country.

There are three NLS/BPH multistate centers—North, West, and Midlands/South—which serve as warehouses and distribution points for the regional libraries in their areas. A total of 56 regional libraries, which generally act as the state library agencies for the program, are responsible for book circulation, outreach, publicity, equipment assignment, publications distribution, reader advisory service, reference, and production of local interest materials.

Direct service to the user is provided by the subregional libraries—usually local public libraries. Their collections generally include only current recorded books; braille readers request their titles directly from the regional library closest to them. The subregional libraries provide book services, publicity, and reader assistance; they also enlist public and volunteer support for their programs.

In 1989 NLS/BPH had a readership of 712,000 that took advantage of the free reading service and received some 20 million books and magazines on flexible disks, cassettes, or in braille.

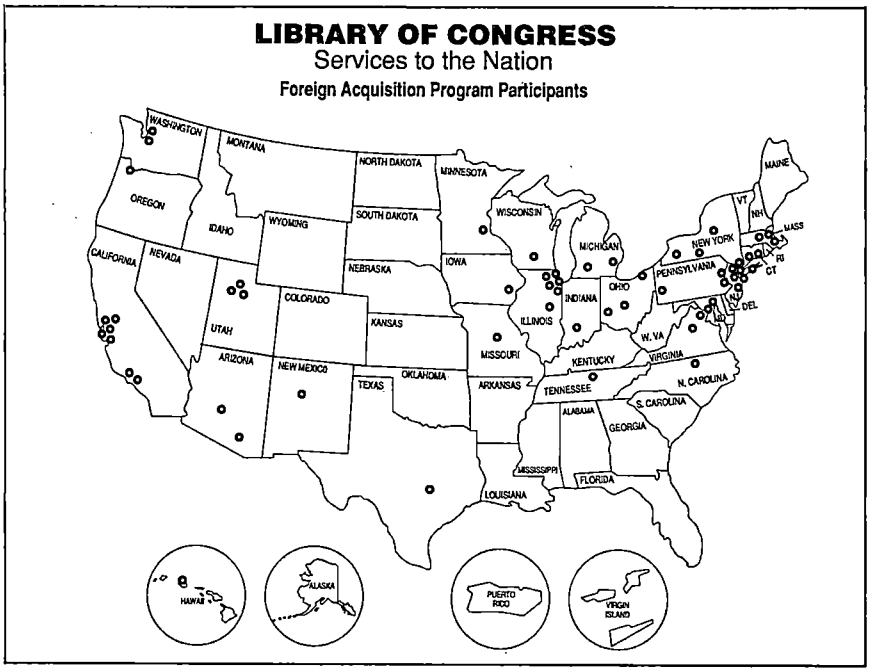
Map G shows the location of the 160 regional and subregional libraries in the NLS/BPH network.

Sharing Resources in the Future

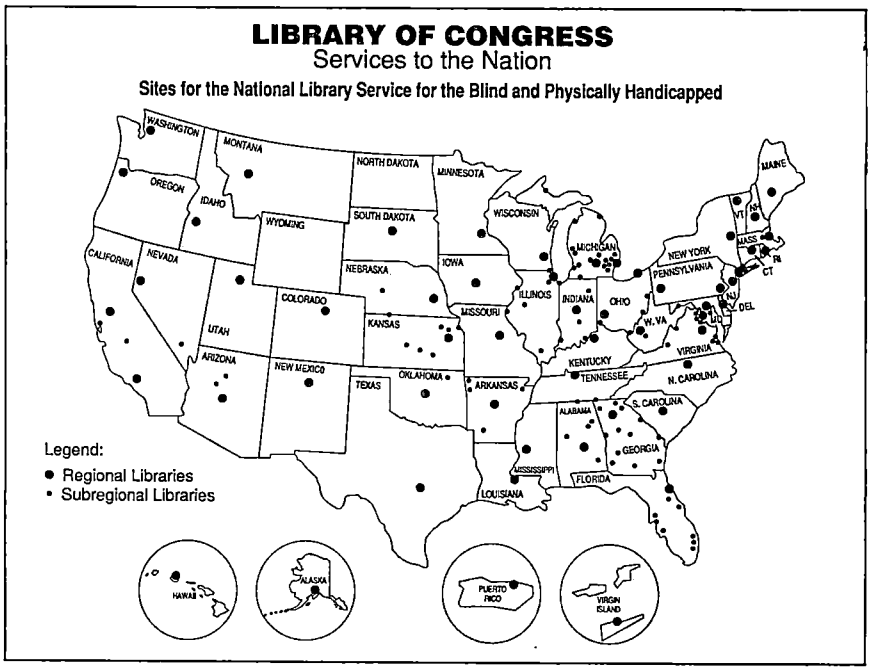
In outlining his vision for the future of the Library during his February testimony, Dr. Billington said, "Up to now, our government through its national library has been able to sustain in one place a universal collection—in almost every format, every language, and every subject. This central knowledge base is unique in the world—and utterly irreplaceable. It constitutes the living intellectual core of America's future in this age of information."

In the past, scholars and users have had to come to Washington, D.C., in order to take advantage of the riches of the Library of Congress. This is changing. As Dr. Billington noted, "technology—the electronic storage, selection, and transmission of information—will make it possible for the Library of Congress to become a library without walls. This library will increasingly serve the

(Cont. on p. 113)



Map F



Map G

Hiroshi Inose Presents Inaugural Mansfield Lecture



Hiroshi Inose

The inaugural Mansfield American-Pacific Lecture at the Library of Congress was delivered on January 23 by Hiroshi Inose, director general of the Japanese Ministry of Education's National Center for Science Information System in Tokyo.

The Mansfield American-Pacific Lecture series has been established by the Mansfield Center for Pacific Affairs to provide a platform for prominent American and Asian leaders to address subjects of importance to the two countries.

Each year the center will select an Asian to deliver the Mansfield American-Pacific Lecture in Washington, D.C., and an American counterpart to deliver a lecture in the capital of the country of the Asian speaker.

Stephen Jay Gould, the eminent Harvard scientist and writer, delivered the inaugural lecture at the Science Council of Japan in Tokyo in November 1989. The title of his lecture was "Creativity in Evolution and Human Innovation." The topic of Dr. Inose's speech at the Library was "Creativity and Technological Innovation: A Japanese Perspective."

Dr. Inose is one of Japan's leaders in the field of science and technology. He has received many awards—including the Second Marconi International Fellowship and the Japan Academy Prize—for his work on digital communication technology and road traffic control. He is professor emeritus at the University of Tokyo and a foreign associate of the National Academy of Sciences.

Dr. Inose has been director general of the National Center for Science Information System since 1987. From 1984 to 1987 he was chairman of the Committee for Scientific and Technological Policy of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development.

The Mansfield Center for Pacific Affairs is the public policy and international program arm of the Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation, a private institution established in 1983 to honor the Mansfields. Mike Mansfield served Montana in Congress for 34 years (16 of them as majority leader) before becoming U.S. Ambassador to Japan, where he served for 11 years before retiring in 1988.

Cosponsors of the Mansfield American-Pacific Lectures include the International House of Japan, the Science Council of Japan, the Engineering Academy of Japan, and the MIT-Japan Program in Science, Technology, and Management.

Additional Reports From IFLA

National Libraries Standing Committee

The National Libraries Standing Committee held meetings on August 19 and 24, 1989, during the 55th Council and General Conference of the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA) in Paris, France.

The standing committee selected its officers for the period 1989 to 1991. Benedik Rugaas of Finland was elected chair, and Maria Luisa Cabral of Portugal was elected to her second term as secretary.

The principal topic of discussion was the planning for the program meetings for IFLA 1990 (in Stockholm) and IFLA 1991 (in Moscow). It was decided that the Stockholm program would concentrate on cooperation among national libraries and continue with the theme, "Management for Change," with speakers from the Nordic countries.

The exploitation and preservation of national collections was selected as the topic for the Moscow program. It was hoped that by 1991 guidelines for the topic could be prepared.

Section of National Libraries

The Division of General Research Libraries, Section of National Libraries, sponsored Session 127 at IFLA on August 23. The speakers

discussed institutional change at the national library level.

The first talk, "National Library and Information Needs: Alternative Ways of Meeting Them, with Special Reference to the Role of National Libraries," was given by the section chairman, Maurice B. Line of the British Library Document Supply Centre.

He suggested that it is desirable to identify library needs that should be met at the national level and then analyze alternatives for meeting those needs. Only after this analysis, said Mr. Line, can it be assumed that the national library should meet every library and information need; some needs involve the national library, while other needs can be met by other libraries or organizations.

Librarian of Congress James H. Billington gave the second talk, titled, "Managing Change in National Libraries: The Library of Congress."

He provided a summary of the Library's review effort, begun in December 1987, toward an organizational concept that focuses on the future of the organization. Strategic planning is integral to the shaping of new service units. The values and the mission of the institution call for a flexible, participatory, and team-oriented approach to service rather than a rigid and hierarchical approach to service.

Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Administrateur général of the Bibliothèque nationale, made a speech titled "La Maîtrise du changement: tentatives et réflexions à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris" ["Managing Change: Approaches and Considerations at the Bibliothèque nationale of Paris"].

The Bibliothèque nationale was faced with the need to adapt to changing administrative frameworks and management methods while preparing to augment services to an ever-expanding public. On July 13, 1988, the president of the Republic announced the construction of a new national library, the Bibliothèque de France, presented as a continuation of the Bibliothèque nationale.

This ambitious project coincided with a major reconsideration of the role of libraries brought about by new technologies. As a result, it has stimulated the Bibliothèque nationale to reexamine its missions and the means by which they may be accomplished.

Mr. Le Roy Ladurie suggested that the Bibliothèque nationale needed to formulate a strategic plan designed to foster a better organization of functions. The objectives of the plan would be to promote a rich acquisition of documents, rapid production and diffusion of information, ease of access to materials, and sound administrative and financial management.

The fourth speaker, Kenneth Cooper, Director of the British Library, spoke on the topic "Managing Change in National Libraries: The British Library."

Mr. Cooper stated that because yesterday's answers will not meet tomorrow's needs, the British Library has taken the opportunity to explore institutional change in the face of social and political realities. At the British Library, managing change is about encouraging, enabling, and equipping the staff to provide better results in terms of the quality of its public service.

The last speaker of the session was Gyula Juhász, Librarian of the National Széchényi Library and director of the Institute for Hungarian Studies, Budapest.

In "The National Széchényi Library as a Research Centre," Dr. Juhász spoke of the inevitability of change, especially in times of technological development as well as social and economic transformations. National libraries must respond to those changes or face isolation from the scholarly and professional life of the country.

A major goal of the National Széchényi Library has been to incorporate research activities into the services provided by the national library. A first step was the establishment of the Institute for Hungarian Studies.

The theme of institutional change at the national library level generated many good questions from the floor. Session 127 promoted a greater understanding of how national libraries, each with its unique national identity, are responding to the changing demands of their informational role within society.

—Henriette D. Avram

Resources *(Cont. from p. 111)*

American people nationwide through a sophisticated network of local libraries which will be the community outlets funneling knowledge from the Library of Congress to local users."

The Librarian continued, "In the 21st Century this Library and smaller research libraries will become the engines of increased, knowledge-based productivity in every sector. The Library of Congress will make available electronic surrogates of important selected collections for local use at other research libraries and at educational institutions. This will promote resource sharing . . . and there will be substantial savings for the entire country."

Many of these savings are already being realized. From cooperative cataloging to services to blind and physically handicapped persons, from helping local literacy programs to acquisition of books overseas, the Library of Congress is already saving institutions and individuals millions of dollars every year and helping communities across the nation to build their own knowledge base.

STAFF NEWS

Charlotte Givens Marks 25 Years of Service



Register of Copyrights Ralph Oman presents a 25-year Federal Service Award pin to Ms. Givens.

Charlotte Givens, a senior attorney in the Copyright General Counsel's Office, was recently recognized for 25 years of Federal service. She has spent nearly half of those years as a copyright lawyer, but she began as a music teacher.

That initial career choice was influenced strongly by Ms. Givens' early education: her mother was a teacher, and her father the principal, at the school she attended in Sherman, Tex.

She graduated first in her class, and went on to earn an undergraduate degree in music at Howard University. She began teaching in 1963, two days after receiving her graduate degree in music literature from the University of Michigan.

At the end of that year she moved from Michigan to Washington, D.C., and worked briefly for the Democratic National Committee. In September 1964, she began teaching music in the D.C. public schools, which at that time counted as Federal service.

Ms. Givens said she began to explore other career possibilities "after directing *Once Upon a Mattress* one too many times." She decided to study law, thinking that it might complement her background in art and music.

She continued teaching at Western High School (now the Duke Ellington School for the Arts) while attending law school at night at George Washington University (1971–74). It was during a course taught by a former Register of Copyrights, the late George Cary, that she became particularly interested in copyright law.

Ms. Givens joined the Library in 1975 as a copyright examiner in the Music Section of the Copyright Office. She went on to hold positions as performing arts attorney and as supervisory copyright examiner in the Visual Arts Section before becoming an attorney with the Copyright General Counsel's Office in 1985.

Ms. Givens was promoted to her current position as a senior attorney in 1988. Her recent projects have included writing the Copyright Office publications on the Berne Convention. She also made eight presentations at a major conference in Lagos, Nigeria, that was held for the purpose of educating Nigerian attorneys, librarians, publishers, and government officials about how to enforce that country's new copyright laws.

Music remains an important part of Ms. Givens' life, and she is a leader in several music programs at Plymouth Congregational Church in northeast Washington, D.C. She also gives a great deal of time to other church activities and is active in the Federal Bar Association.

The Overseas Career Of Eunice Gupta

The LC Information Bulletin *recently received this report on the career of Eunice Stutzman Gupta, who retired in September 1988 after 26 years of service with the Library's overseas program.*

Eunice Stutzman joined the Library of Congress in 1962, when the Library's overseas program was in its infancy. Fresh from her native Wisconsin, Ms. Stutzman was posted to the Library's field office in New Delhi, India, as a cataloging specialist. She was to be instrumental in a long journey toward machine-readable cataloging and other advances for that field office.

Indeed, Ms. Stutzman's arrival in New Delhi was the beginning of a career that would span 26 years and significantly affect development in several field offices. It was also the beginning of a new life for Ms. Stutzman: a year after arriving in New Delhi she married her Hindi teacher, Deen Gupta.

In addition to training and supervising catalogers, Mrs. Gupta did pioneering work in designing and producing an accessions list for South Asia. This was a model for accessions lists produced by other field offices. These lists have proved

STAFF NEWS

to be valuable acquisitions tools for thousands of libraries throughout the world needing information about publishing in countries without adequate national bibliographies.

Mrs. Gupta was appointed field director of the New Delhi office in 1973. The following year she was transferred to Jakarta, Indonesia, to direct the field office there.

By 1978 Mrs. Gupta had been overseas for 16 years and she returned to the United States for a two-year tour in Washington, D.C. She went back to Asia in 1980 to head the Karachi, Pakistan, field office, which she directed until her retirement in 1988.

While in Karachi, Mrs. Gupta rendered the Library a valuable service by bringing organization to the accounting system whereby the Library reimburses the Department of State for various kinds of administrative support. Her attentiveness in this area resulted in the implementation of many efficient procedures which served as a model for other field directors.

She also began a cooperative acquisitions program for Iran and oversaw the transition from P.L. 480 financing to appropriated funding.

Mrs. Gupta's contributions to the overseas program were enormous. Her energetic and conscientious work produced lasting changes in cataloging, acquisitions, and participant programs.

In retirement Mrs. Gupta and her husband are dividing their time among Florida, Wisconsin, and New Delhi. They have two children, Ajay and Suzy.

Staff Activities

Ralph Oman, Register of Copyrights, and **Lewis Flacks,** a policy planning advisor in the Copyright Office, served in Geneva on the U.S. delegation of the second session of the Committee of Governmental Experts on Model Legislation in the Field of Copyright, November 3–10, 1989. The World Intellectual Property Organization sponsored the meeting.

Mr. Oman was also keynote speaker at the Prentice Hall seminar titled "Contemporary Copyright Issues–Focus on Work-for-Hire Doctrine after *CCNV v. Reid.*" The seminar was held in Los Angeles, Calif., on December 1, 1989.

Marcia Smith, specialist in aerospace policy, Science Policy Research Division, Congressional Research Service (CRS), has been selected to receive a 1990 Stellar Award from the Rotary National Award for Space Achievement Foundation.

The award goes to "individuals who, throughout their professional careers, have made significant contributions to the nation's space program and the aerospace community at large."

Ms. Smith, who joined CRS in 1974, is one of the nation's leading experts on U.S. and foreign space programs and policy. She took a leave of absence in 1985 to serve as executive director of the National Commission on Space.

Social Responsibility Is Lecture Topic March 29

A lecture titled "Social Responsibility: An Agenda for the Future" will be presented by Patricia Glass Schuman on Thursday, March 29, noon to 1 p.m., in the Mumford Room. The program is sponsored by the Library of Congress Professional Association (LCPA) and is open to all staff members.

Ms. Schuman, president of Neal-Schuman Publishers, Inc., has written and lectured extensively about social responsibility issues and librarianship. This year she is a candidate for vice president/president-elect of the American Library Association.

Parking Applications Due by March 23

Integrated Support Services (ISS) is conducting its semiannual review of parking space assignments for employees' passenger vehicles and motorcycles. The deadline for receipt of applications is 4:30 p.m., Friday, March 23.

Library staff members who wish to be considered for parking privileges should submit Form 27/55 (rev. 8/86), "Request for Reserved Parking Space," to ISS, Room LM G03. Forms should be available in division offices.

Applications received after the deadline date will be considered only after the initial assignments have been made and the waiting list has been accommodated. The waiting list is comprised of applications that were received by the deadline but did not meet enough of the criteria to receive a parking space during the initial assignments.

Questions regarding the eligibility of a carpool for a parking space should be directed to Delores Clipper, ISS, ext. 77512.

Correction

In a recent "Personnel Changes" column (LC *Information Bulletin,* February 12, p. 79) the resignation listing for Marie E. Whited should have read GS–12, not GS–9.

Staff Carpool Locator

Established carpool from Falls Church/Arlington area seeks rider/driver. Flexitime, 7:30 a.m.–4 p.m. Call John Martin, ext. 78130.

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MAJOR EXHIBITION ON "THE AMERICAN JOURNALIST" OPENS AT LIBRARY OF CONGRESS APRIL 5

The story of American journalism as seen through the lives of some of its most colorful practitioners can be experienced in an exhibition at the Library of Congress beginning April 5.

Called "The American Journalist: Paradox of the Press," the exhibition will be open to visitors in the Madison Gallery of the Library of Congress James Madison Memorial Building, 101 Independence Avenue, S.E., through August 12, 1990.

Prepared by the Library of Congress in cooperation with the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the exhibition is made possible by a $325,000 grant from the Gannett Foundation.

Drawing on the Library's vast and varied holdings, from newspapers and private diaries to motion pictures and cartoons, the exhibition offers a critical look at the 300-year history of journalism in America and at journalists and their place in American society.

COMPANION VOLUME

A generously illustrated, 236-page companion volume, written by guest curator Loren Ghiglione, will go on sale at the exhibition when it opens. A hard-bound trade edition will be published in the fall.

- over -

Ghiglione, editor of The News, Southbridge, Massachusetts, and president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, said: "I'm especially pleased at the unique items that the exhibition will bring together for the first time." All told, there are some 400 items on display.

EXHIBITION HIGHLIGHTS

The exhibition opens with the only surviving copy of the first newspaper published in North America, Publick Occurrences, Both Forreign and Domestick, (on loan from the Public Record Office of London) published by Boston printer and bookseller Benjamin Harris in 1690. It is immediately followed by the broadside issued four days later on September 29 "By the Governour and Council" of Massachusetts suppressing the newspaper.

These two items establish one of the exhibition's main themes: the public's ambivalent attitude toward the press in America and the limits placed upon it from its earliest beginnings.

In addition to Publick Occurrences and the order banning it, the exhibition will include such unique items as:

* pencil drawings by Alfred R. Waud and Edwin Forbes of events of the Civil War;

* the contents of Lincoln's pockets the night he was assassinated (which included five newspaper clippings);

* the copyright application, with cartoon, of the "Yellow Dugan Kid," who eventually came to symbolize "yellow journalism;"

* the desk that belonged to William Allen White, the epitome of the small-town editor (whose papers are in the Library of Congress);

* the Norman Rockwell painting, "The Country Editor," on loan from the National Press Club in Washington, D.C.;

* Ernie Pyle's typewriter and two of his dispatches from the front;

* the pages from Bob Woodward's reporter's notebook recording the Watergate break-in.

EYE-CATCHING DESIGN ELEMENTS

A number of eye-catching design elements have been planned by exhibition designers Benjamin Lawless and Jan Adkins to draw visitors into "The American Journalist," and to make their visit a memorable one.

* An 1888 folk art sculpture of a newsboy will be placed at the entrance to the exhibition, and the image of a newsboy will be used throughout the exhibition to delineate the different sections.

* The existing statue of James Madison in the Madison Hall will be surrounded by a gigantic "front page" describing the exhibition, with the statue becoming, in effect, the central "illustration" for the page.

* A one-third size balloon carrying Nellie Bly will be constructed to represent the commission she received from Joseph Pulitzer's New York World to beat Phileas Fogg's record of "Around the World in Eighty Days." She made it in 72 days!

* Cutouts of paparazzi figures will line the staircases leading to the second level of the exhibition area. Popping strobe lights, representing camera flash bulbs, and voices saying, "Just one more..." and "Do you have a comment?..." will help to convey the sense of what it feels like to run the gauntlet of these persistent reporter/photographers.

* Caricatures of individuals who have commented on the freedom of the press will be specially commissioned for the concluding section of the exhibition, which illustrates how "the paradox of the press" has been a recurring theme throughout American history.

As exhibition curator David Halaas notes, the American public has long held mixed views about the appropriate role of the media: "On the one hand members of the press are seen as truthseekers and watchdogs of government; on the other hand they're seen as gossipmongers and purveyors of slander. That's the basic paradox."

- over -

PLAN OF THE EXHIBITION

Continuing with the chronological history of journalism in America on the first level of the Madison Gallery, the exhibition examines colonial and revolutionary beginnings, and then progresses through the era of the partisan political press to the emergence of the mass press, the thirst for graphic representations of battle scenes during the Civil War, and "boom town" journalism. It culminates in the colorful posters, cartoons, and shrieking headlines of the Hearst and Pulitzer yellow press of the late 19th century.

The second floor of the exhibition will be devoted to the story of the American journalist -- the people who have devoted their lives to "getting the story." Separate sections will deal with different kinds of journalists -- street reporters, investigators, entertainers, exploiters, crusaders, persuaders, and war correspondents. Examples are: Arthur "Weegee" Fellig as street reporter; Ida Tarbell as investigator; Thomas Nast as crusader; Will Rogers as entertainer; Wilbur Storey as exploiter; Horace Greeley as persuader; and Ernie Pyle as war correspondent.

Fictional characters such as Clark Kent/Superman, Brenda Starr, and "reporter" Kermit the Frog, will be woven into the various sections of the second level of the show, emphasizing the American public's fascination with the press and the people who make it work.

AUDIO-VISUAL ELEMENTS

Audio-visual elements on the second level of the exhibition will tell the story of the journalist through other media. A 10-12 minute videotape of film clips from the 1930s to the 1980s depicts journalism from Hollywood's point of view; and audio excerpts of radio news programs from the 1930s and 1940s, and TV news clips from the 1950s to the 1980s, demonstrate broadcast journalists at work.

EXHIBITION SUPPORT

The Gannett Foundation, of Arlington, Va., with assets of nearly $650 million, is among the nation's largest private foundations. It funds community projects, national programs to improve the teaching and practice of journalism, programs promoting adult literacy and encouraging philanthropy and volunteerism, and scholarships. It also operates the Gannett Center for Media Studies at Columbia University, New York, and the Paul Miller Washington Reporting Fellowships in Washington, D.C.

The American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) is an organization of more than 1,000 editors of daily newspapers in the United States and Canada. Founded in 1922, the principal purpose of ASNE is to serve as a medium for exchange of ideas and the professional growth and development of its members.

"The American Journalist: Paradox of the Press" will be open to the public from 8:30 a.m. to 9:30 p.m. Monday through Friday, and from 8:30 a.m. to 6 p.m. Saturday and Sunday.

# # #

PR 90-22
02-08-90

Note to Editors:
Photographs (black and white glossies, color slides) of selected items from the exhibition are available by contacting Helen Dalrymple, Library of Congress Public Affairs Office, (202) 707-1940.

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MAJOR EXHIBITION EXPLORES THE AMERICAN JOURNALIST

FACT SHEET

TITLE: "The American Journalist: Paradox of the Press"

DATES: April 5, 1990 through August 12, 1990
8:30 a.m. - 9:30 p.m. weekdays
8:30 a.m. - 6 p.m. weekends and holidays

LOCATION: Madison Gallery, James Madison Memorial Building, 101 Independence Avenue, S.E.

EXHIBITION

Purpose: Drawing on the vast and varied holdings of the Library of Congress, the exhibition offers a provocative look at the 300-year history of journalism in North America as well as a view of the journalists -- both real and mythical -- who have been the reporters of the news. The exhibition traces the history of journalism from its colonial beginnings through the period of the partisan political press and the "boom town" journalism of the American frontier, to the controversial yellow press of the late 19th century. The different kinds of journalists are examined -- crusaders, exploiters, war correspondents, street reporters, investigators, entertainers, persuaders -- in the second half of the exhibition.

Scope: "The American Journalist" looks at the history of journalism in the United States in two ways: chronologically, showing how the business of reporting the news changed as American society grew and expanded; and personally, using individuals to typify different kinds of reporters, from crusaders to persuaders and from entertainers to exploiters. A major theme of the exhibition is the paradoxical, ambiguous role that the journalist plays: neutral reporter or partisan propagandist; watch-dog of government or invader of privacy; truth-seeker or gossip-monger?

- over -

Content: The 400 items in the exhibition include drawings, paintings, manuscripts, newspapers, photographs, posters, prints, books, film, television, and radio clips, and artifacts. The linchpin for the historical section is the only surviving copy of the first newspaper published in North America, Publick Occurrences, Both Forreign and Domestick, on loan from the Public Record Office in London. Artifacts include the contents of Lincoln's pocket the night he was assassinated, which included a number of newspaper clippings; the desk that belonged to William Allen White, the epitome of the small-town editor; the Norman Rockwell painting "The Country Editor," on loan from the National Press Club; a UPI teletype machine; a Washington Hoe hand press; Rube Goldberg's drawing table; and the pages of Bob Woodward's notebook recording the Watergate break-in.

Audio-Visual Elements: An 11-minute program of film clips called "Have I Got A Story!" featuring movies about journalists will be shown continuously in an area marked by a movie marquee. The kaleidoscope of clips about the fictional journalist shows how the movies have revealed stereotypes, perpetuated myths, and raised important ethical questions. A 14-minute compilation of radio broadcasts recreates for the exhibition visitor the great era of broadcast news before the advent of television. Finally, a 14-minute selection of clips from television news broadcasts shows the broadcast journalist "getting the story" and "witnessing the story live" where the news is happening for the reporter and the viewer at the very same time.

Sponsor: The exhibition has been prepared in cooperation with the American Society of Newspaper Editors. It is made possible by a $325,000 grant from the Gannett Foundation.

Curators: Loren Ghiglione, Guest Curator
David Halaas, Curator
Sara Day, Associate Curator
Corinne Szabo, Audio-Visual Editor
Joanne Freeman, Administrative Coordinator
Bucky Wall, Audio-Visual Specialist

Designers: Benjamin Lawless and Jan Adkins

PUBLICATIONS: The American Journalist: Paradox of the Press, by Loren Ghiglione, is a generously illustrated, 236-page softcover, companion volume to the exhibition. A hard-bound trade edition will be published in 1991.

A free exhibition brochure, designed to look like a newspaper, will describe the exhibition and highlight some of the items that visitors can expect to see.

- more -

EXHIBITION POSTER: A full-color horizontal poster measuring 27 by 34 inches, which is based on an 1896 newspaper poster for The Journal, is for sale for $10 from the Library's Gift Shops in the Thomas Jefferson and James Madison Buildings.

RELATED SALES ITEMS:

Authentic reporters' notebooks
Custom imprinted pencils
Printing press kits
Young Reporter's education kit
Facsimile of Publick Occurrences
"Newspaper" note cards and gift enclosures
Custom woven bookmark
Mini newspaper carrier bag with exhibition logo
"Yellow kid" T-shirts
Selection of books related to journalism

FILM SERIES: Films about reporters, journalism, and "getting the story" will be featured in the Mary Pickford film series beginning April 23 and continuing through May and June. Reservations may be made by phone, beginning one week before any given show. Call (202) 707-5677 during business hours (Monday-Friday, 9:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.). Reserved seats must be claimed at least 10 minutes before showtime, after which standbys will be admitted to unclaimed seats. All programs are free, but seating is limited to 64.

TOURS: Visitors interested in special free guided tours of the exhibition may make arrangements by calling the Library's Visitor Services Office at (202) 707-5458.

PHOTOS AVAILABLE: Black and white prints, as well as color slides, of selected items in the exhibition are available for press purposes.

- over -

LENDERS TO THE EXHIBITION

ABC News
American Antiquarian Society
Associated Press
The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley
Barker History Center, University of Texas at Austin
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Bettmann/UPI
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George W. George
Loren Ghiglione
Celia Gilbert
Irma Goldberg
David Halberstam
Michael and Julie Hall
R. C. Hickman
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Indiana University School of Journalism
John F. Kennedy Library, Hemingway Archives
Joe Koester
Debra and Marty Krim
Irv Letofsky
Los Angeles Times
Bill Mauldin
Milwaukee Art Museum

LENDERS TO THE EXHIBITION - CONTINUED

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National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution
National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution
National Press Club
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The New York Historical Society
The New York Public Library
The New York Times
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Laurence T. Paddock, Boulder Daily Camera
Paramount Pictures Corporation
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Random House
Richard Donner Productions
St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Screen Actors Guild
Scripps Howard News Bureau, Washington, D.C.
The Sporting News
Frank Stanton
The State Museum of Oklahoma
Esther M. Stone
Turner Entertainment Company
20th Century Fox Corporation
United Press International
University of Chicago Library, Special Collections
University of Southern California, Cinema-Television Library
Vernon R. Alden Library, E. W. Scripps Papers, Ohio University Libraries
Barbara White Walker and The Emporia Gazette
Warner Brothers
Delmar Watson
Stanley and Mary Wertheim
The Wharton Esherick Museum
Wide World
Wilma Wilcox
Bob Woodward

- over -

CURATORS OF THE EXHIBITION

Loren Ghiglione, guest curator of the exhibition, is editor of The News, Southbridge, Massachusetts, and president of Worcester County Newspapers. He is currently serving as president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. He has written or edited five books on journalism. To research the book, The American Journalist: Paradox of the Press, which is a companion volume to the exhibition, Mr. Ghiglione had fellowships to the Joan Shorenstein Barone Center at Harvard University and to Columbia University's Gannett Center for Media Studies. He received a bachelor's degree from Haverford College, law and urban studies graduate degrees from Yale University, and a Ph.D. in American Studies from George Washington University.

David Fridtjof Halaas, exhibition curator, holds a Ph.D. in history from the University of Colorado, Boulder, and he is the author of several books, including Boom Town Newspapers: Journalism on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier, 1859-1881. Before coming to the Library of Congress, Dr. Halaas was curator of books and ephemera and senior historian at the Colorado Historical Society in Denver, where he was also curator of the permanent exhibits program for the Colorado History Museum. As a historian of the American West, Halaas has a particular interest in the influence of frontier newspapers on the settlement of the West.

Sara Day, associate curator of the exhibition, is a writer, curator, photo researcher, and art historian (M.A., American University). She has written a booklet on American folk art and numerous articles on historical subjects and the visual arts. She has illustrated books on subjects as diverse as histories of Philadelphia, antibiotics, and World War II. Ms. Day was principal researcher on the major bicentennial exhibition, "A Rising People," at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, and she has headed research departments for a publishing house and a private mint.

# # #

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Correction: In the last issue different dates appeared on the cover and on page 2. The correct date should be July - August. We apologise for this mistake.

Editorial Committee:

Marek Garztecki (Editor)
Gyorgy Krasso, Taras Kuzio, Wojciech Tomaszewski.

Cover: Agnes Hay

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VOICE OF SOLIDARITY is a monthly digest of uncensored information from and about the Soviet Bloc countries. Titles of underground publications are given for identification. All cartoons are from the underground press. Letters and signed commentaries do not necessarily represent the views of the editors or NSZZ "Solidarnosc". We encourage the transmission of information from

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POLAND

THE INDEPENDENT PUBLISHING MOVEMENT IN POLAND

The Social Council for Independent Publications emerged on the initiative of the Independent Publishers' Foundation, the Temporary Coordinating Commission (TKK) of "Solidarnosc" and the publishers themselves, who felt responsible for their work and the allocation of collected funds. The need was felt for an objective appraisal of the problems of publishing. Members of the Social Council include people from all walks of life, and all are people of recognized moral and social standing, who are not directly connected to any of the existing publishing houses. The Council's tasks are:

1. The appraisal of published material, its standard and its significance to the development of culture in the widest meaning of the word.

2. The coordination , as far as is possible, of individual publishers' publishing plans, so that, on the one hand, resources and effort are not wasted on having a title published by more than one publisher (for instance, by having the same work translated more than once) and, on the other hand, so that the opportunity of publishing a worthwhile title is not missed.

3. The evaluation of the way the money allocated to publishers (from the Independent Publishers' Foundation), is being used.

4. To ensure that professional ethics are maintained in the relationship between publisher and author and between individual publishers, and that the correct procedures concerning foreign and reprint rights are being observed.

With regard to points 1 and 2, it should be pointed out that the Social Council for Independent Publishers will not give directives or act as a censor. It will not impose upon publishers any plans, or try to influence their choice of titles; in particular, it will not recommend that they delete any titles from their lists. The Council recognizes that all independent publishers are entitled to make their own editorial decisions. When appraising the titles already published and the situation in any given publishing house, the Council has a duty of expressing its opinion and of making suggestions as to the various aspects of a publisher's work (the contents, design, print-run and the price of a book) and give advice where needed. None of the Council's views are directives.

The Council is most interested in the work of publishers associated in the Publishing Consortium and financed by the Independent Publishers' Foundation, and of those publishers who are, or will be, subsidized by the Council. However, the Council will carefully observe the work of other publishers who play an important role in independent cultural life, and will express its views about them. This study is the first document produced by the Council. Since the Council had only been in existence for a short time, it should be considered as a preliminary report.

The importance of independent publishing

A few words need to be said about the importance attached by the Council to the independent publishing movement in Poland. This is a phenomenon without precedent and unparalleled in any of the Soviet bloc countries. We regard this movement as one of the most important manifestations of the Polish nation's ever-growing aspirations to regain spiritual, cultural and intellectual independence, despite the attempts to deny it these freedoms, and of its desire to maintain traditional links with European and world thought, despite the efforts made to destroy these links. This movement, by its variety, its capacity to spread uncensored thought, to uncover the truth, to successfully counteract the blockade on information maintained by the authorities, plays an invaluable part in the nation's struggle to retain and reinforce its identity. Its influence on the younger generation is of particular importance. The movement has a great part to play above all in the following fields, wherein also lie its greatest achievements so



Ten years of independent publishing.

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far:

1. In the spreading of undistorted knowledge of Polish history, the history of its struggles for independence, the 40 years of communist rule in Poland and about the forms that national resistance has taken.

2. In spreading knowledge about the essence, the methods and real aims of the communist system and other totalitarian regimes, and unmasking the ideological myths they create and their propaganda falsehoods. A very important function of the independent publishing movement is to draw attention to the necessity of unmasking "newspeak", and to point out the frequent manipulations of the language by the communist authorities.

3. In bringing to a wider readership the most important developments in political, social, economic and humanist thought, and in introducing the Polish reader to the most important analyses and studies concerning the world we live in, a world the image of which is systematically distorted in the official media and in schools. It was the independent publishing movement that introduced the reading public in Poland to such authors as Orwell, Koestler, Jaspers, Popper, Hayek, Friedman, Kolakowski, Besançon, and that disseminated the works of Kundera, Seifert, Solzhenitsyn, Bukowsky and Mandelstam. It is the independent publishing movement that is instrumental in publishing the National Education books and other literature indispensible in independent educational work. (...)

4. In making available to the Polish reader important works of Polish culture created both in Poland and abroad but banned by the censor. It is this work that makes the existence of independent and non-conformist culture possible. It is of particular significance in the case of young artists and writers whom the censor attempts to ban and relegate to the background.

5. In its work concerning contacts between Poles here and abroad, as well as between Poles and other nations, particularly our neighbours. This work is aimed at the goal of mutual understanding and opposing the ideology of hatred on which official propaganda is based.

6. In making possible the existence of, and the making public of a whole gamut of thoughts, attitudes, opinions, appraisals and suggestions, which all go into the making of the



of today's Poland, and which does not officially exist. This phenomenon only exists because of the appearance of so many unofficial publications, representing different schools of thought. Many of these publications boast a considerable output today.

In all these spheres there are tens and even hundreds of publications which have enormously enriched intellectual life in Poland. There are, in fact, so many publications, that it would be impossible to list even the most important ones here. Some of these have achieved a print-run of a few thousand plus reprints and new impressions, others have had smaller print-runs of around 500 copies, but all are in circulation and finding readers. Their influence and significance



grow and a proof of this is that this even extends to official circles. They can no longer be ignored.

An attempt at a critical appraisal

The independent publishing movement is extremely difficult to assess, since the full statistical data cannot be made available. We know that there are currently about a hundred different publishers (compared with 35 before August 1980, about 200 at the time of "Solidarność" and about 80 under martial law). Their levels of stability, efficiency and output vary. For obvious reasons, we cannot assess how they are organized. We can only judge the end result, although this depends on many variable factors unknown to us. (...)

At first glance, the criteria for choosing a title for publication seem very diverse. Some publishers are more interested in immediate results and a book's appeal to the public. Others, for instance, Nowa and Oficyna Literacka take into account the long-term social benefits. However, the independent publishing movement is as a whole capable of catering for a large range of readers' requirements. It produces, on the one hand, various encyclopedias or dictionaries, and, on the other, elegant comics by Fedorowicz; it also publishes poems, essays, works of philosophy (Simone Weil, Bierdiaiev, Shestov, Kolakowski), the histories of Poland and other countries, the history of ideas, political science, source and documentary publications, newspaper reports, interviews, etc.

There are new editions of old titles, but also completely new books; there are reprints of books published by Polish publishers abroad, and translations from many foreign languages. Among the latter, attention is drawn particularly to translations from the German, Ukrainian, Russian, Lithuanian, and Czech; these play an important role in lessening Polish people's prejudices against their neighbours. If it were not for the independent publishing movement, this would not be so. The presence of leading Polish authors in the independent publishing movement is promising. They now have an alternative when faced with the lawless censorship of their books. Thus Konwicki, Newerly and many others, who

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dent publishing movement, if they cannot. And this is a desirable state of affairs. A wide, almost unlimited range of attitudes and ideas (barring those of the extreme right and left) is represented in the independent publishing movement. Basically, any original writing presenting an interesting vision of the world has a chance of finding a publisher. This is a sort of model situation for a future, truly democratic Poland.

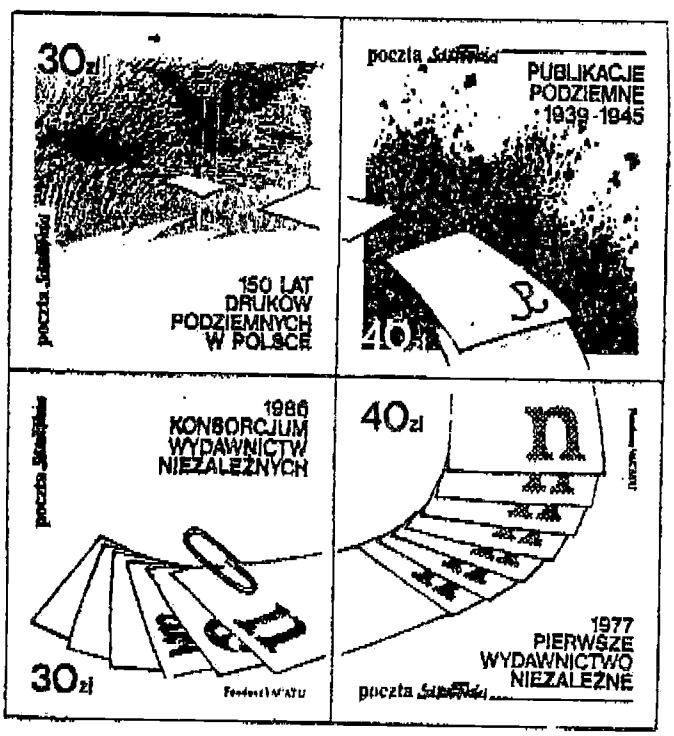
The independent publishing movement's work is strikingly comprehensive. It is almost like ordinary publishing (...) and if its output were supplemented by some chosen titles from the catholic publishers' and the official publisher's list, there would be no gaps of any significance left. (...) Mention should be made of those publishers who produce periodicals as well as books. This is not an easy or particularly lucrative business, but it is of paramount importance to culture and intellectual life. The continued flourishing of those periodicals (and there are at least a dozen excellent titles, with a few quite outstanding ones) is probably the most spectacular success of the independent publishing movement and all free thinking Poles in the last decade.

What could attract some criticism is the choice of titles by some publishers. It happens occasionally that trash of the kind produced by the notorious Dalcz or the crudely anti-communist "Lenin" by Ossendowski, is published. There is a danger that such initiatives will be followed by others with the intention "of being beastly to the reds". These initiatives must be countered, since seeking instant success or easy gains and pandering to bad taste may one day have lamentable results.

Obviously, it would be desirable - even if difficult - to improve editorial standards. Legibility, in particular, is the subject of frequent complaints by readers. We note that some publishers (for instance, in books by Szastow and Malia) achieve excellent results, but bearing in mind all the difficulties faced by independent publishers, it is unfair to hold this publisher up as an example to others. The following, can, however, be suggested: - that manuscripts are more carefully edited (during some periods, for example, in the early stages of martial law, one received the impression that some publishers did without editors altogether) and proof-read. Proof reading in particular is often a weak point (see, for example, the horrendous editorial sloppiness exhibited in Nabokov's "The Other Shores", published by the otherwise respectable OL),

- that the number of copies printed and their distribution (as far as is possible, of course) are planned so that books or periodicals really find their readers, instead of just covering their publishers with glory and then getting snatched up by connoisseurs and book-collectors. The problem of availability of titles is a real matter for concern, and far from being solved,

- that the author's basic moral and financial rights and interests are respected. Here to, the situation creates certain pressures and makes unconventional behaviour on the part of publishers inevitable at times, However, it should not happen, as has occasionally been the case, that publishers go back on their decisions to publish, or that financial irregularities occur.



150 years of underground print in Poland.

The Publishers' Consortium and the independent publishing movement

The Publishers Consortium emerged as a result of an agreement between six large independent publishers (KOS, Nowa, CDN, Krag, Przedswit and OL). These firms have years of publishing experience. Last year they published 65 books and brochures, and co-published or supported the publication of nine periodicals. Among the titles published by them, a number are of great significance to Polish culture.

The Consortium allocates money from the Independent Publishing Foundation to publishers. In 1986, the Foundation's grants were distributed among 46 independent publishers (including signatories of the Consortium), among them 30 based outside Warsaw. In the Council's view, the way the grants were allocated was purposeful and well justified. It is particularly important that so many publishers outside Warsaw were subsidized, including publishers from small but important towns such as Kielce and Siedlce. Excluding Consortium's titles, approximately 25 publications (books and larger brochures) were subsidized by the Independent Publishing Foundation. Membership of the consortium and use of the Independent Foundation or other grants, is entirely up to the publishers themselves. Some firms, for instance, that of Glos, believe that independent publishers should be totally self-financing and that they should make profits, like publishers do in the West, and that those profits should in turn be used for the firm's further development, for higher author's

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royalties, etc. An independent publisher - particularly of the standing of Glos - is fully entitled to take such a stand.

The Council, however, is concerned about the constant rise in the price of books, many of which have for a long time been out of reach of the average reader, and particularly of the younger reader. The Council believes that many publishers must be subsidized. Despite the principle that independent publishers should be self-sufficient (which publishers should strive to achieve, and which they could, for instance, by increasing the print-run), there are some publishing ventures which must nevertheless still be aided, and the price of some titles should be low, even below production costs. These are mainly educational titles for students, titles of educational value to workers, encyclopedic works and important books, for instance those by Kersten. The Council believes it is essential to assist such initiatives.

The Council views with concern the fact that many publishers are reluctant to undertake the printing of periodicals. Difficulties were, for example, encountered in finding a publisher for "Kultura Niezalezna" and "Oboz". Some periodicals containing current social and political material appear so late that they lose all topicality and relevance, and by the same token lose readers. This is a great moral and financial loss. The Council considers that book publishers should work with the editors of periodicals, assist them and make sure that titles appear on time. Publishers who produce periodicals important to social culture and ensure that they appear on time and regularly, should be the first to receive grants from the Independent Publishing Foundation.

Criteria have been established for a) membership of the Consortium, b) the distribution of Independent Publishing Foundation grants to publishers.

- Large publishers with a diverse literary output, comprising Polish and foreign authors and periodicals of great social and cultural significance, may join the Consortium. The titles published by them must be of a high literary standard and be well edited and produced. If a publisher belonging to the Consortium does not produce any new titles for two years or, for no apparent reason (except situations outside its control) refuses to co-operate in the publication of a worthy periodical, it can, at the Council's request be excluded from the Consortium.

- Publishers applying for an Independent Publishing Foundation grant or loan must already have produced works of cultural or social value. The Consortium, when considering applications for grants, will take into account the conditions in which each publisher operates, the type of readership it caters for and how its titles are produced. Publishers assisting in the production of periodicals will have priority. Grants will be distributed by the Consortium; in doubtful cases, the Consortium will refer to the Council for an opinion.

The Social Council for Independent Publishers believes that the independent publishing movement is our greatest asset, the most effective form of bond with society and of the means influencing it, and also society's greatest achievement, bringing us international recognition. As long as there can be no question of demonstrations, strikes, protests, etc., the independent publishing movement constitutes our main battlefield. The independent publishers are society's main weapon in its fight for the fulfillment of its legitimate aspirations.

Social Council for Independent Publications.
Warsaw, December 1986.

INDEPENDENT PUBLISHING INSURANCE

Q: What do you insure?

A: Our aim is to compensate losses due, in the first place, to reprisals. There are three kinds of losses: publishing projects, equipment and personnel. Our first idea was to protect books and periodicals already in the pipeline; investment lost as a result of a police raid can be of crippling proportions. Equipment was at first our secondary consideration. Finally, when making our statute, we added the third group, personnel. So far since last June, we have insured two duplicators, a typewriter, a cutter, an offset, a car, amounts of paper and 22 people. It turned out that people were the most sensitive item. To our surprise, no one has yet applied for insurance of a current project.

Q: Surely, cars will prove a precious item.

A: I think so. We would like to be able to compensate the full market price, but according to our statute we cannot go beyond one million zlotys per case. Otherwise we would go bankrupt. One million is enough for a small Polish Fiat, but for any other car it is very little. We plan a special high premium insurance which would allow us to go beyond one million, perhaps even to dispense with an upper limit (Petty Offences Tribunals now often confiscate cars found to be transporting underground literature).

Q: What are the premiums now?

A: [illegible] months, and the premium for one person is 6,000 zlotys. In cases of procuratorial sanction (prolonged temporary detention) we pay the family 30,000 zlotys per month, the same applies to convicted prisoners, but the total is limited to 240,000 zlotys. Payments are effected in several installments, for we cannot be bound to regular dates. We also pay the cost of fines and the cost of defence. Personal property confiscated in house searches is covered up to 250,000 zlotys. There is also insurance against accidents at work. The premium for equipment is equal to 1 percent of the cost of the item. Thus, the premium for a duplicator, the market value being about one million zlotys, is 10,000 zlotys. This covers 100 percent of the cost, but the object can be insured to only 25, 50 or 75 percent of the cost. The premium for a project is 5 percent of its value. Publishing firms may become members of the Fund. They pay a single contribution of 300,000 zlotys, and are entitled to a 50 percent discount.

Q: Have you paid any compensations yet?

A: One publishing firm suffered a very damaging police raid. We have paid them half a million.

Q: And you didn't go bankrupt?

A: No. True, the premiums are rather small, more symbolic than actual, abut we had the sum of 900,000 zlotys contributed jointly by the three firms which established the Fund. A large part of

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The titles last published in 1986:

7. Solidarnosc Zwyciezy, until 1986 the official bulletin of the TKRH.

8. Puls, publ. by MKS Nowa Huta.

9. Homo Homini, publ. by the Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners and Persecuted People.

REGIONAL BULLETINS

1. Janosik, from Nowy Targ, since 1982, circ. 500.

2. Kurierek B, publ. by MKS Wschod (Interfactory Committee Bochnia-Tarnow area), since 1982, circ. 200.

3. Solidarnosc Podkarpacka, from Krosno, since 1984.

4. Solidarnosc, publ. by Coordination Committee in Jaslo, since 1985.

5. Swiat Pracy, publ. by MKS Tarnow, since 1985.

6. Wiadomosci Nowosadeckie, publ. by MKS Nowy Sacz, since 1982.

7. Biuletyn Podhalanski, publ. by Podhale Region, since 1985, circ. 150.

Publications of organizations affiliated to Regional Commission and groups of Solidarnosc members

1. ABC Mlodych, publ. by Federation of Militant Youth (high school students), since 1985.

2. Barykada, publ. by Resistance Group of the Independent Student Organization, since 1982.

3. Dzien, publ. by Academic Coordinating Committee, since 1982, circ. 1000.

4. Hutnik, publ. by Solidarnosc members from Lenin Steelworks and the Mining and Steelmaking College, the most popular Krakow bulletin, since 1982, circ. 5000.

5. Jednodniowka, publ. by the Coordinating Committee of NZS (Independent Students' Union), no data available.

6. Kablowiec, publ. by the Factory Committe in "Kabel" plant, circ. 100.

7. Nowy Glos PANu, publ. by "Solidarnosc" in Krakow branch of the Polish Academy of Sciences, since 1983, circ. 500.

8. Paragraf, publ by. the Committee for Defense of the Rule of Law (informs about the official infringements of human rights), since 1985, circ. 1000.

9. Przeglad Akademicki, publ. by NZS on Jagiellonian University, since 1985.

10. Solidarnosc Nauczycielska, publ. by Teachers' Solidarity, since 1982.

11. Zomorzadnosc, publ. by Krakow KOS group, since 1982, circ. 1000.

Bulletins of local Solidarnosc organizations last published in 1986

12. Biuletyn Niezaleznej Sluzby Zdrowia (Health Service).

13. Biuletyn Informacyjny Akademii Medycznej i PSK (Medical Academy).

14. Budostalowiec (Budostal Constructing Company).

15. Solidarnosc AWF (College of Physical Education).

Independent unofficial publications

1. Goniec Lwowski, publ. by the Malopolska Division of the Workers' Movement for Independance, since 1987.

2. Nasz Glos, bulletin of Militant Youth of Krakow high-schools, since 1986.

3. Niepodleglosc, publ. by the KPN (Confederation for an Independent Poland) Southern Command.

4. Mala Polska, publ. weekly since 1983, circ. 2000.

5. Orzel Bialy, publ. by the Workers' Movement for Independence, since 1985.

6. Promienisci, regularly published for high-school youth, since 1982, circ. 1000.

7. Punkt, since 1987.

8. Staszek, publ. by high-school students, since 1986.

9. 13, formerly 13 Grudnia (13th December), publ. by Liberal-Christian group, since 1982, circ. 2000.

10. Wolny Glos, publ. by the Public Self-defense Movement, since 1987.

Independent newspapers which have no new issues since the end of 1986:

11. Jajoglowiec, publ. by a group of employees at the Jagiellonian University.

12. Mysli Niainternowane, the only underground journal with colour illustrations, but also the most expensive.

13. PAP - Polowa Archiwum Prasowe, publishing the most important historical documents not available officially.

14. Sygnal, publ. by Mysli Nieinternowane, stopped appearing in 1986.

Monthly and quarterly journals

1. Arka, literary quarterly, highly regarded, circ. 2000.

2. Bez Dekretu, until 1985 a political now a literary magazine, circ. 2000-3000.

3. Miesiecznik Malopolski, literary - political quarterly.

4. Niapodleglosc, monthly political publication of the Krakow branch of the Liberal-Democratic Party "Independence".

5. Opinia Krakowska, publ. annually by the KPN (Confederation for an Independent Poland), since 1977 (the only unoficial journal pre-dating Solidarnosc) circ. 500.

6. Stanczyk, all-Polish journal of liberal groups, edited in Krakow.

7. Tedy, literary magazine.

8. Zeszyty Zwiazkowa, reports prepared by experts for the Regional Commission of Solidarnosc Malopolska region.

In addition, publications and journals published abroad by Polish emigree groups are reprinted in Krakow. Among these: Zeszyty Literackie, Zeszyty Historyczne, Puls (abbreviated).

Publishing houses operating in Krakow

1. Bez Ciec (published poems and songs of Kaczmarski and re-

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THE POLISH JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATION

Throughout the course of Polish history the press and writing profession has always been closely linked to the struggle for freedom and democracy. The first modern journalists' union was formed after the re-birth of Poland following the end of the First World War. It soon gained a reputation of being militant not only in the defence of its members' rights but also in its upholding of the professional standards of journalism.

When Poland was occupied by the Nazi and Soviet armies after the outbreak of the Second World War all Polish trade and professional organisations were banned, including journalists' union. All Polish papers, book publishers, independent Polish-language radio stations were banned. The mere posession of a wireless set often resulted in summary execution if found by the SS or Gestapo. The Nazis actually decreed a complete eradication of the whole writing and journalistic profession. Many well known journalists were executed for no other reason than that of their writing skills, more were sent to Auschwitz and other concentration camps.

Despite the repressions the Union maintained its activities in the underground. Hundreds of its members were producing and contributing to clandestine publications that mushroomed all over the country.

Following the end of the war and the creation of the Polish People's Republic, the new authorities moulded all trade and professional organizations to the stalinist fashion. The pre-war union that managed to survive the Nazis was promptly disbanded for "promoting plurality of views in the media". A new, docile Polish Journalists' Association was formed with the Party-nominated leadership firmly at the helm. However, the journalists' spirit was not to be so easily subdued. Even in its darkest times Polish press and radio was generally acknowledged to be the most independent in the whole of the Soviet bloc.

The social upheaval in Poland, following the birth of "Solidarnosc", deeply affected people working in the media. Interestingly enough, there was no special "Solidarnosc" branch for journalists. Unlike almost every other trade or profession, they were able to "cleanse" their old Association and form a new, dynamic national executive, headed by a respected writer and journalist, Stefan Bratkowski.

For a few brief months the Polish Journalists' Association became one of the principal players in national politics. Bratkowski tried strenuously to maintain good links both with "Solidarnosc" and the Party, serving as a go-between and mediator. Despite frequent accusations of "serving the anti-socialist forces", the Association tried to remain neutral. As a matter of fact, most people belonging to its national and regional executive bodies remained Party members. The true reason for the wrath that the journalist profession was subjected to by the Party hardliners could be found in its newly acquired independence of the official diktat. It was to pay dearly for this.

When Martial Law was introduced in Poland on December 13 1981, the Polish Journalists' Association was immediately suspended, as were all papers and ordinary TV and radio broadcasts. Of 11 thousand internees, journalists, especially all those connected with the trade union press, formed a substantial group. In early spring 1982, the Association was disbanded, its substantial property (including union buildings and several holiday houses), its assets (including all funds and pension schemes) were taken over by the state.

The authorities started a mass purge of the profession. All journalists were forced to sign an oath of loyalty to the regime renouncing "Solidarnosc" and the former Association. Those who refused were summarily sacked and blacklisted. It is estimated that about 1,200 Polish journalists were arbitrarily dismissed - a professional catastrophe for most of them - and 20 percent were demoted to lower-paid positions. Former editors and heads of departments had to accept jobs such as subbing, or proof-reading if they wanted to stay in the profession.

Some of them later found work in the fringe press: editing church magazines or papers like "The Blind Co-op Worker", the latter finding fame as the refuge of Dariusz Fikus, the General Secretary and some other members of the national executive. About 15% decided to emigrate; some-probably a third - switched to other jobs like selling flowers, driving taxis or working in second-hand bookshops. The rest tries to freelance.

The wholesale purge of the official media had the quite beneficial side effect of providing an abundant supply of contributors to the booming underground press. Thanks to them Poland today has the biggest number of titles and copies printed in samizdat form, of any country at any time in the history of the printed word.

To add insult to injury, the authorities have aped their stalinist predecessors in forming a "new" Journalists' Association of the Polish People's Republic. The authorities provided this "Association" with all the assets of the disbanded body, even though no more than a third of the old Association's members joined the new organisation. More significantly, it could not entice a single well-known or respected journalist.

Out of necessity, the Polish Journalists' Association was re-activated as a banned, clandestine organization. Its first immediate aims were to:

1. assist arrested members and their families
2. find means of financial support for those who were sacked.
3. defend the Association's right to operate and to use its assets.
4. fight for the legalisation of the Association.

Thanks to the help received from its Western colleagues a special fund for imprisoned and needy journalists was established. A special voluntary service distributing food and clothing was set up in one church. Later on it also branched out into providing legal advice and acting as a job centre. By mid-1982, almost all of the affected journalists were taken care of.

At the end of that year, those wishing to contribute to the underground press found their way to it. There were even attempts to regularly produce a clandestine union journal. A few issues of the paper (called "Spectator") were produced, but it ceased its publication due to the lack of an available printing press.

On the other hand the Association's President, Stefan Bratkowski, produces, more or less regularly, a "talking gazette" in the form of a cassette, which is later copied and distributed all over Poland. The "Bratkowski Gazette" even carries a mock copyright warning, in fact designed to ward off a possible government prosecution for "disseminating false information". True to form,

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when the irritated authorities tried to silence Bratkowski, they could only muster an accusation ...of illegally possessing about 100 German Marks!

In between 1983 and '84 the Association did little more than distribute urgent help to the needy. Only once or twice were public debates organised, most of them semi-official in character, usually in church or parish halls. The situation has changed from 1985 on, when young journalists, most of whom had never been members of the Association (nor of the official one) asked about the possibility of joining the "non-existent" organisation.

For security reasons it was decided that no records of the new members should be kept, and the procedure of joining was simplified to giving an oath to uphold the Association's constitution and the code of conduct, in presence of one of the officials.

Over the next few months new, alternative forms of the Union's activity were developed. A "Spoken Newspaper" was established. It has the form of a fortnightly meeting in the Holy Virgin Church in Warsaw, during which a group of journalists read aloud local and international news, followed by a series of articles, essays and even short stories. This event is recorded, edited, copied and regularly distributed in a pattern already established by Stefan Bratkowski. The Association executive has also become much more forthright, issuing statements, although signed only with individuals' names.

Recent rumours circulating in Warsaw suggest that the authorities are considering some form of re-legalisation of the Association. Some of this talk is certainly prompted by the inefficiency and blatant corruption of the "new" pro-government one. It's first administrative Director-General was arrested for embezzlement and the General Secretary was quietly eased out of his job to avoid public scandal.

Whatever happens in the future the Polish Journalists' Association has clearly proved to be more durable than martial law and anti-union legislation. Even after purges and the campaign of signing enforced loyalty oaths, less than fifty per-cent of the journalists employed in the state and party press joined the new "official" body, to say nothing about those involved in the independant press.

At the Prague-based International Organisation of Journalists the official Association was granted the place previously held by the "old" Association. The latter received considerable moral (and some material) support from the International Faderation of Journalists and some of its member organisations. Now, when the re-legalisation of the Polish Journalists' Association looks at least a distinct possibility, international support and pressure on the Polish authorities will carry more weight than ever. /M.G./



WE ARE STRONG, WE CAN WAIT

An interview with
Stefan Bratkowski

Tygodnik Mazowsze: As President of the dissolved Polish Journalists Association (Stowarzyszenie Dziennikarzy Polskich - SDP) do you intend to call for the Association to be revived?

Bratkowski: In fact, last year 150 journalists (including many from the official press - and not just from the catholic press either) sent me an open letter. I must say the situation is truly Pickwickian: the dissolution of the Association had not been accepted by the journalists who still expect us to speak on behalf of the Association. Thus we became life members of the Association's leadership.

To revive the SDP - well its just a slogan. But how should it be put into practice? It is not inconceivable, of course, that the two associations, the SD-PRL (Journalists Association of the Polish People's Republic, formed by the authorites after martial law) and the SDP could co-exist and one would be a member of the International Journalists Association in Prague and the other of the International Federation of Journalists in Brussels. We in the SDP anyway consider ourselves members of the IFJ which after 13 December 1981 spoke many times in our defence on the international forum. Another possibility is

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that the revived SDP would in time merge with the SD-PRL, if this proves acceptable on purely social grounds. Finally, a completely new journalists' organization could be formed with the participation of the SD-PRL. There are probably more possibilities, I would not want to put any limits in advance on the authorities' generosity.

TM: Do you really expect some sort of political gesture on the part of the authorities?

Bratkowski: My forecast is, alas, rather pessimistic. I cannot see in Poland a team of people of Gorbachov's stature - these are people with the mentality of army officers. To their minds any concession is not a political manoever, but backing down, which means personal failure.

The September amnesty was a great step towards removing the greatest stumbling block in communication between the authorities and the people, but it had not changed anything in our (the journalists) situation. On the other hand, rumours abound - and these rumours are spread deliberately - that it had been offered to us, for instance that we should open a new periodical. The aim here is to create the impression that the authorities are coming up with some sort of initiatives, that there is openness on their part.

I believe that the authorities would sooner grant rights, for instance, to the writers, that they might allow for the revival of the Polish Actors Association in its original form, but that they will continue to disfavour journalists. It is largely a matter of personal grudges.

One thing is a fact: we shall not be taken for granted anymore. In the past five years we have learned to work as journalists, taking no notice whatsoever of the authorities, we discovered that this was possible. The catholic press, not to mention the underground one, does not belong to the rulers. And this cannot be changed. The best the authorities can do is to make peace with the journalists not belonging to the SD-PRL and to agree to what extent a compromise can be achieved.

It is not just about the journalists having their professional organization, it is about higher stakes: the integrity of the journalistic profession, the possibility of exercising it honestly and truthfully. This is why we have no other choice than to stick to our principles. We are strong, we are patient, we have enough to do and we can wait.

TM: You keep saying "we". In your opinion, does the SDP milieu still exist?

Bratkowski: Apart from the Solidarnosc activists we were the only group so drastically and ruthlessly repressed. Over a thousand journalists have lost their jobs, another thousand have been demoted. Nearly five hundred do not work as journalists, over thirty have left the country.

TM: However,"Zycie Warszawy" (a Warsaw daily) reported recently that over eight thousand journalists belong to the SD-PRL.

Bratkowski: Only half of the 8122 SDP members (about a dozen of the 70 SDP Council members) have joined the SD-PRL. In Warsaw, not even fifty percent of those working in the official press belong to the new association. Many of our colleagues started writing for the underground press and contributed to the blossoming of the catholic press. Such papers as, for instance, "Gosc Niedzialny"(Sunday Guest), which was a modest parochial publication, almost became a national paper overnight, well edited and influential.

After 13 December, quite a few people approached us, asking if from now on they could consider themselves members of our Association. Those people were not just journalists from the underground press, but also from the official one. Thus for instance, Jacek Fedorowicz and Adam Michnik consider themselves from now on members of the SDP. At the moment signatures are being collected under a statement by activists of the dissolved association. The authors say that they expect among other things, that the problem of journalists having the freedom to join the professional organization of their choice will be solved. They also demand the restoration of public opinion, the setting up of credible editorial boards and that the censorship laws should not be abused. They appeal for the reinstatement of journalists, particularly those from the regional press, and from radio and television, including colleagues working on the production side. If anybody should not want to return to work then this is his choice. The essential thing is that he should have such a choice.

TM: Aren't you over-dramatizing the situation? Most journalists still work in the official press.

Bratkowski: Yes, but ninety percent of them abide by the principles which we agreed at the beginning of martial law: they sign themselves by their own names, they do not publish false information and do not take part in smear campaigns. I would say that this is most difficult, even if it does not involve dramatic gestures. An enormous percentage of people have kept their decency.

Obviously, it is the remaining ten percent who are responsible for television's, radio's or the press's image. The chief editor, his deputy, the associate editor, one or two heads of departments plus the choice of agencies' reports, are enough to turn a paper into a rag.

There are people really discredited who tarnished their names by unattractive or sometimes even ugly behaviour. Those are "on view", even though there aren't so many of them... Lately, for example, Mr Rudnik(...) behaved deviously towards three leading artists - Hanuszkiewicz, Hubner and Zapasiewicz - he edited their statements without their consent and used them in his own television programme "Czas" (Time),prepared for the fifth anniversary of the introduction of martial law. This is a classic breach of professional ethics for which he would be reprimanded by any true journalistic tribunal. Janusz Roszkowski, the new President of the State Radio Committee, has ordered - for the first time ever - that a correction should be broadcast.

There are people on the other side, like Stanislaw Glabinski, whom we considered as colleagues in our profession, in spite of our views being totally different.

TM: You maintain that the PAP (government press agency) correspondent in the USA is not someone who just follows instructions?

Bratkowski: Oh, yes, those people do follow instructions, but they also follow the rules of their profession, they do not take part in persecutions or victimizations. Another example: the same Roszkowski, a genuinely good journalist, known for his decent behaviour towards his colleagues. Recently, he addressed himself to Polish Radio and TV employees, asking for their advice about what to do with radio and television. His question was also addressed to those who had lost their jobs in the verification process.

TM: Returning for a moment to independent journalism, your "spoken newspaper" has become

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quite popular.

Bratkowski: You are referring to the "Dzwonek Niedzielny" (Sunday Bell) published under the care or patronage of the Holly Virgin Mary church which looks after artists and writers. Ten meetings took place, where journalists read publicly specially prepared articles, commentaries on the current situation and columns. Unfortunately, the Church decided recently to end for the moment this initiative and we don't know if we shall be able to revive it. A difference of opinion played a part here: our hosts thought that the paper should be more Church minded. To us, the Church had simply become a refuge for the truth...

TM: And what is happening to your "Gazeta Dzwiekowa" ("Taped Newspaper")?

Bratkowski: I still produce it in one copy. But I know that copies are made and sold, unfortunately at very high prices. I do not ask for fees and I would not want it to be thought that I share in these profits. I would like to make a plea that either the price of the cassette be reduced or that it should be stated who benefits from the profits.

Tygodnik Mazowsze No. 198
11 February 1987

Translation courtesy of Uncensored Poland News Bulletin

HOME CINEMA

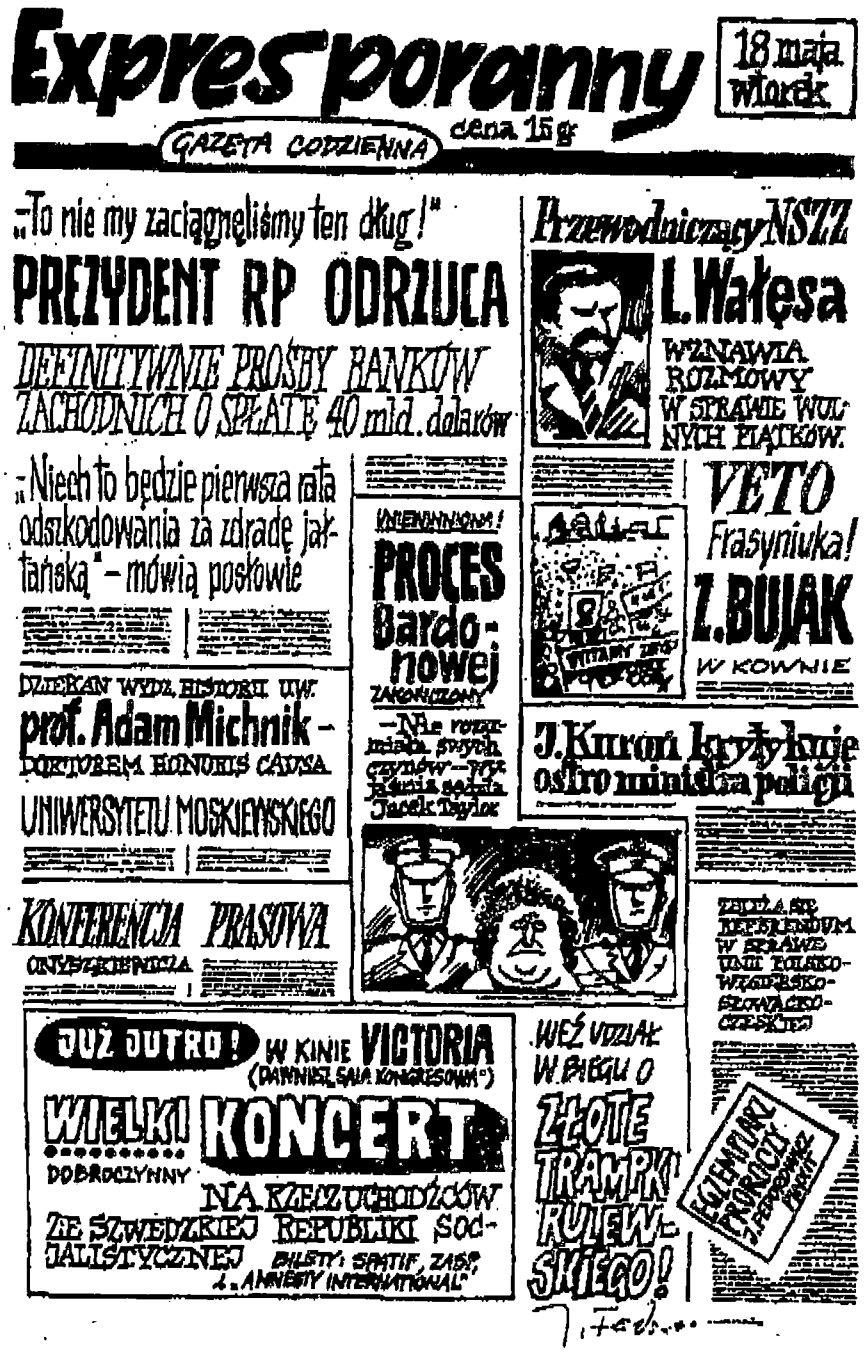
A large underground video market has arisen in Poland. The showing of video cassettes has become a popular form of entertainment, education, and social gathering. Below is an article based on an interview with the manager of one of Warsaw's "Home Cinemas", conducted by Jan Klincz of Tygodnik Mazowsze.

Translation courtesy of the Committee in Support of Solidarity in New York.

It began a year ago, on a small scale - with one VCR and two movies. Today I have four VCRs and 56 films to rent. The equipment was paid for by the (underground) Committee for Independent Culture - after that the enterprise has financed itself. To view a film we charge 100 zlotys. This covers the cost of transportation and the purchase and copying of video cassettes.

At first, I expected home cinema to be stationary, but the reality is different. It is impossible to have one film running several times even if the operator leaves the room, and people usually want to see three or four films at one sitting. So the home cinema started a tour of several houses, to several districts, and we even began to travel from town to town. We had to buy a new colour TV set, although I know people who are satisfied with black-and-white televisions.

In the beginning, I was showing films only to people from our circle, i.e., among Warsaw intellectuals. But as time went by the viewership widened. Our cinemas have visited villages; high school and college students attend regularly; and we also service workers. I figured out that in one year there were at least 5,000 viewers, because we cashed in about half a million zlotys revenue, not taking into account that not everyone pays, and we also organize free viewing for young students.



A mock "futuristic" issue of a daily in post-communist Poland. Among other titles: "prof. Michnik receives honorary degree in Moscow" and "Bujak in Kowno".

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Underground printers at work

We operate on the basis of mutual trust. I do not collect receipts or check people's identities and they are sometimes recommended very indirectly. So far not only has everyone been honest, but they have also returned the equipment on time. The videos are played around the clock. There may be only a couple of days' break. If I happen to have two VCRs at home some night, I take advantage of it to copy films for us or for other firms.

Until now, the so-called "essential viewing-set of films" has proved extremely popular. We started this package with Ryszard Bugajski's "Przesluchanie" (The Interrogation), Video Kontakt's "Kalendarz Wojny" (The War Calendar), "Kwadratura kola" (Squaring the Circle) - a film about Solidarnosc by Tom Stoppard, and "Blaszany Bebenek" (The Tin Drum) adopted from the novel by Gunther Grass. I managed, although it was not easy, to get hold of all the films made by Video Kontakt (in Paris), and people like them, especially the filmed interview with the editors of the Paris-based "Kultura", (a literary and political monthly begun in 1947). I also buy films made by Video Nowa, for example, Agnieszka Holland's "Kobiety Samotne" (The Single Woman), and recently Domaradzki's "Wielki Bieg" (The Big Run), which was rejected by the Censor's Office.

I have a number of excellent short Polish films, such as Titkow's "Przechodzien" (The Passer-by), which is about opposition author Tadeusz Konwicki, Lozinski's "Cwiczenia Warsztatowe" (Workshop Exercises) and Magowski's "Na etapie" (Reaching the Stage). I have copied "Man of Marble" and "Man of Iron" by Andrzej Wajda, since the new generation of young people has not yet had a chance to see them.

Among foreign films, not only do I have films with political themes - such as "Doctor Zhivago", "The Deerhunter", "Sophie's Choice", "1984", and "Animal Farm" - but I also offer other non political films that have, for some reason or other, not been officially distributed. These include: "Amadeus", "Fiddler on the Roof", "The Magician of Lublin" adopted from a novel by I.B. Singer, and Milos Forman's "Ragtime" based on a best-seller by E.L.Doctorow that was published in Poland.

I also have in my repertoire films that represent pure entertainment and some of my more high-brow clients object to their inclusion. Once I was even criticized for "doing the enemy's bidding" because I showed "Silkwood", which deals with problems of trade unions in America. But usually the order is as follows: "one essential, patriotic film, and a James Bond to top it off". KGB-versus-CIA films are very popular, such as "Gorki Park" and "The Third World War"; so too even is a gangster saga like "It Happened in America". I recorded some children's films of Walt Disney and "The Never Ending Story" to meet our clients' demand.

The contents of such a film library naturally reflect my own preferences, because I am often forced to choose - especially among the less ambitious films. The market is huge and I am tying to get hold of films that would be popular. Unfortunately, for the most part, these are poor-grade films with scandalous translations. My dream is to buy the newest films in the West and then command good translations. This, however, lies in the future because you need a lot of money: a bestseller cassette may cost up to $100 and a good translator does not come cheaply. So far, I have been forced to rely on the black market.

Films are now made in Poland especially for the underground cinema. I have two collections produced by Independent Television in Mistrzejowice and a short-feature film "Lekcja" (The Lesson), based on children's drawings about marital law; it is subtitled "The First Polish Underground Film". Recently, I have also received two cassettes by Jacek Fedorowicz, one called "60 minut na godzina" (60 minutes an hour) which is well-known to all Polish listeners, and the second, based on a marvelous idea of dubbing the images of the official television news broadcast

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS

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DALLAS MORNING NEWS
Vice President

DAVID LAWRENCE JR.
MIAMI HERALD
Secretary

SEYMOUR TOPPING
NEW YORK TIMES CO.
Treasurer

March 14, 1990

Ms. Kristin Clark Taylor
Director of Media Relations
Room 117, Old Executive Office Building
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Kristin:

It was great to talk with you yesterday. I promised I'd follow up with some ideas Loren Ghiglione has suggested as possible topics that President Bush might address. Of course, the President will have his own ideas on what he wants to talk about, but I'll pass these along as an indication of what's on the minds of newspaper editors today.

• Topic A: Is the federal government's commitment to freedom of expression diminishing? Several recent news events have led many of the nation's newspaper editors to believe that free speech enjoys something less than top priority:

-- The administration's position on the Chinese students in the U.S. seems to put pleasing the Chinese leadership higher than supporting the free speech of those who dissented.

-- The Attorney General's moves to eliminate leaks appear to have a chilling effect on the media.

-- The Supreme Court's Hazelwood decision seems to have resulted in increased control over student publications, not to mention self-censorship.

-- The President raised a number of government/press issues in the recent exchange aboard Air Force One. Is there something he wishes to say to newspaper editors along these lines?

• Topic B: The editors would also be interested in hearing the President's view on the federal commitment to affirmative action. The newspaper industry's efforts to recruit minorities haven't been helped by an atmosphere at the national level that seems to undercut the commitment to racial diversification. Editors are worried about the legal precedent for reverse discrimination suits, following recent Supreme Court decisions. Added to this the problem in education, where enrollments of blacks and Hispanics are dropping.

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS CONSISTS OF THE OFFICERS AND THE FOLLOWING:

LARRY ALLISON, Long Beach Press-Telegram; JAY AMBROSE, Rocky Mountain News; JANET CHUSMIR, Miami Herald; LINDA GRIST CUNNINGHAM, Parsippany Daily Record; GREGORY FAVRE, Sacramento Bee; ALBERT E. FITZPATRICK, Knight-Ridder Inc.; WILLIAM A. HILLIARD, Portland Oregonian; WILLIAM B. KETTER, Quincy Patriot Ledger; DRAKE MABRY, Ames Daily Tribune; SUSAN MILLER, Scripps Howard; TED NATT, Longview Daily News; ROLFE NEILL, Charlotte Observer; JEAN OTTO, Rocky Mountain News; ARNOLD ROSENFELD, Cox Newspapers; JOHN SEIGENTHALER, Nashville Tennessean; JAMES D. SQUIRES, Chicago Tribune

• Topic C: ASNE has put a focus this year on newspapers and the disabled, and we are delighted that the White House is enthusiastic about our having a signer to interpret the President's remarks for the hearing impaired. We hope a representative from Gallaudet University will have the honor of doing the signing. (I can be more specific on that a little later.) It would be appropriate for the President to make some remarks about federal concerns in this area.

It would be helpful to have the President's perspective on all of these questions, plus, of course, other topics that he chooses.

Here's the revised scenario that we propose for April 6:

• We'll have the greeting party (see attached list) available in the Speaker's Assembly Room (Ballroom Level at the Marriott) by 2:15 in anticipation of the President's 2:30 arrival.

• After greeting the officers, committee chair Susan Miller, Mr. Ghiglione's family and myself, ASNE president Loren Ghiglione will escort the President into the (Grand Ballroom) and introduce him.

• We hope the President will speak for about 30 minutes, and then take questions from the floor for about 30 minutes. As you know, only ASNE members will ask questions, and Mr. Ghiglione will recognize ASNE members to ask questions, from the floor microphones.

Let me know if you wish to change any of this, and if you need more information, I shall be happy to provide it. Enclosed is the still-tentative convention schedule. We are delighted to have Mr. Cheney and Mr. Kemp as speakers, and we tried very hard to get the Secretary of State and Mr. Reilly of the Environmental Protection Agency, with no luck. I'm afraid that the EPA director's absence will get some bad press. Of course, we would welcome the White House's involvement if there was something that could be done to encourage him to join the panel that immediately follows President Bush.

I'll give you a call in a few days to get your reaction, and thanks, Kristin, for all of your wonderful help!

Best regards,

Lee

Lee Stinnett
Executive Director
Direct phone (703) 648-1145

Enclosures
cc: Loren Ghiglione, Susan Miller

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. List	Re: American Society of Newspaper Editors; personal information. (1 pp.)	n.d.	P-6, (b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: American Society of Newspaper Editors 4/6/90 [2]

Date Closed: 10/15/2004	**OA/ID Number:** 06895
FOIA/SYS Case #:	
Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	
MR Case #:	**Appeal Case #:**
MR Disposition:	**Appeal Disposition:**
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P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

[Updated as of March 13, 1990]
[* unconfirmed]
[TBA = to be announced]

Tentative 1990 ASNE Convention Schedule

CONVENTION HEADQUARTERS: J. W. Marriott Hotel, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20004. (202-393-2000).
ASNE REGISTRATION DESK: (Ballroom level - Registration B) Ext. 6622.
ASNE STAFF HEADQUARTERS: Near registration desk (B) on Ballroom level.
SPEAKER ASSEMBLY POINTS: Speakers for general sessions will meet in the Speakers Assembly Room, on the Ballroom level near the ASNE registration desk. Luncheon speakers will come to the Russell Room on the Meeting Rooms (M) level for the pre-luncheon receptions and headtable assemblies.

NEWS LAB: Reginald Stuart, Philadelphia Daily News (202) 383-6043, coordinator. A crew of college students, predominantly minority, will produce The ASNE Reporter, a daily newspaper covering the convention. Operations for the Newspaper Lab will be housed in Knight-Ridder offices in the National Press Building, Suite 700 — phone XXX-XXXX.

NEWSPAPER PROTOTYPE DISPLAY ROOM: High-tech equipment, part of the ASNE prototypes study, will be available for hands-on experimentation during the convention. The display room is located near the Grand Ballroom. Jerome Ceppos, managing editor of the San Jose (Calif.) Mercury-News (408-920-5456), assembled the display.

FLOOR MANAGERS: Convention floor managers are identified by yellow badges. Head floor manager is Robert Longstaff, Bay City (Mich.) Times.

PRESS CENTER: Press members covering the ASNE convention will find the Press Center in the Commerce Room on the Meeting Rooms (M) level. Hours of operation are Noon - 5:30 p.m. Tuesday, and at 8 a.m. - 5:30 p.m. Wednesday through Friday. The press room can be reached at Ext. XXXX and XXXX. John Wilson of the Washington Times (202-636-3250) is press chair.

SMALL NEWSPAPERS DISPLAY: Materials from the "Excellence in Small Newspapers" project will be on display in the Treasury Room beginning 9 a.m. Wednesday through 5 p.m. Friday. Contact James Herman, Traverse City (Mich.) Record-Eagle 616-946-2000.

WRITING AWARDS WINNERS DISPLAY: Probably in the registration area.

C-SPAN: The convention will be covered by C-SPAN, located in the State Room, Meeting Rooms (M) level. Barry Katz is the C-SPAN contact (703-737-3220).

Monday, April 2

All day	Breakout Rooms	Dirksen, Cannon & Longworth Rooms
10 a.m.	ASNE staff tie down meeting with hotel	Hart Room
7:00 - 9:00 p.m.	Directors cocktails & buffet — Home of Dick and Ann Schmidt, 115 5th St. S.E.	

Tuesday, April 3

All day	Breakout rooms	Dirksen, Cannon & Longworth Rooms
9:00 a.m. - 6:00 p.m.	Registration	Ballroom level
8:30 a.m.- 4:00 p.m.	Board of Directors meeting	Capitol Ballroom H&J
Noon	Board of Directors luncheon	Capitol Ballroom K
4:00 - 5:00 p.m.	Convention workers meeting	Russell Room
5:45	Buses begin shuttle service from Pennsylvania Ave entrance of the Marriott	
6 - 8 p.m.	**Opening reception — Matisse in Morocco Exhibit** Receiving line: ASNE officers. Others?	National Gallery of Art East Building Constitution Ave. and 4th St., N.W.

Prison Journalism - Acel Moore, associate editor, Philadelphia Inquirer
Wilbert Rideau, editor, Angolite, Louisiana State Prison
[Segment organizers: Loren Ghiglione and Tal Campbell, Aurora (Ill.) Beacon-News]

Unfinished Business: Issues of the Sixties [10:00 - noon]
Moderator: Walter Cronkite, special correspondent, CBS News
Speakers: John Ehrlichman, writer
Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, president emeritus, University of Notre Dame
Robert Moses
Gloria Steinem, writer, editor, and feminist organizer
Gen. William Westmoreland, U. S. Army retired
Panelists: David Gergen, editor at large, U.S. News & World Report
Dick Gregory
Charlayne Hunter-Gault, national correspondent, The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour
Jessica Mitford, author
Jack Nelson, washington bureau chief, Los Angeles Times
[Segment organizers: Neil Morgan, San Diego Tribune, and Susan Miller]

spoke @ Eisenhower Joint Session

AV REQUIREMENTS: Five wireless microphones, six lavalier microphones, move standing lectern to the rear of stage.

Cash bar, Noon - 12:30 — Ballroom Foyer
Assembly of luncheon headtable — Russell/Hart Rooms

Luncheon, 12:30 p.m.

Grand Ballroom

Speaker: Richard Cheney, Secretary of Defense
Introduced by: TBA
Head Table: Board and board candidates
[Segment organizer: Josette Shiner]

General Session

2:30 - 5:00 p.m. — Capitol Ballroom

Introduction to American Journalist Exhibit [2:30-2:35]
By Loren F. Ghiglione

[still yon ee]

A Voice from Our Past: Ernie Pyle [2:35 - 3:05]
Dramatization by William Windom
Introduced by: Jay Ambrose, editor, Rocky Mountain News, Denver
[Segment organizer: David Stolberg, Scripps Howard]
AV/STAGE REQUIREMENTS: Spotlight and microphone

What's Wrong with the American Journalist [3:05 - 3:30]
Speaker: David Halberstam, journalist and author
Introduced by: James D. Squires, former editor, Chicago Tribune

Present Day Heroes: The Foreign Press [3:30 - 4:15]
Introduced by: Alexander H. Rossiter Jr., executive editor, United Press International
Speakers: ~~Ana Maria Busquet, widow of Guillermo Cano, editor of El Espectador, Bogota, Colombia~~
Hanna Siniora, editor of Al-Fajr, East Jerusalem
Sonia Goldenberg, executive director, the Committee to Protect Journalists
[Segment organizer: Al Rossiter]

cancelled

Cuba

Unfinished Business: Changes in the Communist World [4:15 - 5:00]
Introduced by: Burl Osborne, editor and president, Dallas Morning News
Speaker: Henry Kissinger, former Secretary of State
[Segment organizer: Burl Osborne, Dallas Morning News]

5:45 p.m. — Shuttle buses begin service from Marriott's Pennsylvania Avenue entrance to Library of Congress

6:00 - 8:00 p.m. — **Reception — "The American Journalist" Exhibit** — Library of Congress Madison Building, 101 Independence Ave. S.E.

Luncheon, 12:30 p.m. — Grand Ballroom

Speaker: Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu, Capetown, South Africa
Introducer: David Lawrence Jr., publisher, Miami Herald
Head table: Past presidents and minority association presidents
Introduction of 1989 and 1990 Small Newspaper Honorees
[Segment organizer: Susan Miller]

ASNE Committee Meetings, 2:30 - 5:00 p.m.

Bulletin	Dirksen Room
Convention Program	Longworth Room
Education for Journalism	Cannon Room
Ethics	Capitol Ballroom H
First Amendment	Capitol Ballroom K
FOI	Capitol Ballroom F (front)
Future of Newspapers	Capitol Ballroom B
History & Newspapers	Treasury Room
Human Resources	Capitol Ballroom J
International Communication	Capitol Ballroom C
Literacy	Justice Room
Membership	Speakers Assembly Room
Minorities	Capitol Ballroom E
Nominations	Hart Room
Press/Bar	Capitol Ballroom F (rear)
Readership	Capitol Ballroom A
Writing Awards	Russell Room

4:00 p.m. — Polls close for Board of Directors election
Elections Committee Meeting — Room 755

5:00 - 6:00 p.m. — ASNE women members reception — Russell/Hart Rooms

Friday, April 6

All day — Breakout rooms — Dirksen, Cannon & Longworth Rooms

7:30-9:00 a.m. — CONEE breakfast meeting — Dirksen Room

7:30-9:00 a.m. — ASNE Foundation board meeting — Cannon Room

Workshops
7:45 - 8:45

Getting Better Writing in Your Newspaper — Grand Ballroom I
Introduced by: John Driscoll, editor, Boston Globe, and chairman, ASNE Distinguished Writing Awards Board
Moderator: Dr. Don Fry, director of writing programs, The Poynter Institute
Speakers: Dr. Karen Brown, associate, The Poynter Institute
ASNE Writing Awards Winners:
Terrie Claflin, staff writer, Medford (Ore.) Mail Tribune
Diana Griego Erwin, columnist, Santa Ana (Calif.) Orange County Register
Samuel Francis, deputy editorial page editor, Washington Times
Linnet Myers, reporter, Chicago Tribune
David Von Drehl, reporter, Miami Herald
[Segment organizer: Don Fry]

Editing in an Economic Downturn — Grand Ballroom IV
Moderator: George Blake, editor, Cincinnati Enquirer
Speakers: Lou Brancaccio, executive editor, Binghamton (N.Y.) Press & Sun-Bulletin
Beverly Kees, editor, Fresno (Calif.) Bee

7:30 p.m.	**Banquet** Speaker: Judith Martin, "Miss Manners" Introduced by: Susan Miller, director of editorial development, Scripps Howard, Cincinnati	Grand Ballroom
	Presentation of ASNE Distinguished Writing Awards John S. Driscoll, editor, Boston Globe,and chairman, ASNE Writing Awards Board	
9:30 p.m.	Gavel presentation	
10:00-12 midnight	Dancing	

Saturday April 7

8 a.m. - noon	Board of directors meeting	Capitol Ballroom H&J

(Smith/Blessey)
March 30, 1990
8 A.M.
PAPER

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NEWSPAPER EDITORS
MARRIOTT HOTEL
FRIDAY, APRIL 6, 1990

Members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. Fellow communicators. // This marks my second appearance as President before the creme of the Fourth Estate. And since we love that numbers thing // let me say what a privilege it is to address you on the 300th anniversary of the American newspaper.

((Last year I spoke for nearly half-an-hour. I thought I'd do something a little different this year and make my speech the same length as the average story of **USA Today**. // So thank you and good-day.)) //

((Seriously, it **is** a pleasure to be here with the most exclusive of the major journalistic professional societies. // // And to once again mingle with the editors of America's finest newspapers. // And also those who carry **Doonesbury**.)) //

((For you legal reporters, let me start with a confession. I'm a newspaper junkie. // Take **The Washington Post**. Every morning I start out with the funnies. Devour every word. Then, leaving the editorial page. /// Each day, the routine's identical. Coffee in bed. Take Millie out. Then, read papers the way Barbara eats broccoli // avidly, and ravenously // whether it's good for you or not.)) //

And the thing is // I've **always** been that way. When I was a little kid, my mother made me read newspapers // unlike broccoli, I grew to **like** them. // And now that I'm President of the United States, I intend to keep **reading** them. // Why? That print darling, Casey Stengel, put it best when he said, "you can look it up": **Never have newspapers been more crucial than in what I call the Revolution of '89**. //

Today, that revolution is sweeping the globe -- demanding rights like assembly, religion, press, free speech. // Rights that were at the heart of what we term America's Revolution of 1776. // Even then, the printed word was its catalyst -- as it is now for those abroad who demand the freedoms we long ago sought, and won. // Think of the writings of Tom Paine. Or the brilliance of **The Federalist Papers**. // Recall how America's first paper -- **Publick Occurences** -- began in 1690 -- its only copy now on display at the Library of Congress. // Or how a man who was imprisoned but never conquered -- Peter Zenger -- demanded the liberty that would not be stilled. //

Jefferson said, "If I had to choose between a government without newspapers and newspapers without a government, I would choose the latter." And most Americans have agreed. // Not merely because papers helped link the colonies, push back the wilderness, and preserve the Republic so that, united, we stood. // Nor even that in **every** age, your medium has symbolized its **Information** Age: As when Lincoln died, and eight newspaper clips were found in his pocket. // Instead, Americans love papers

even more for what they **mean** than what they **do**. Upholding what free men have **always** sought: Free markets // free elections // and free will unhampered by the State. //

Such freedom, of course, has often meant turmoil -- especially for Presidents. Roosevelt was reviled by much of the print media. Kennedy captured it. Prudence precludes me from repeating what Truman said. ((As for me, I resent some of your reporters saying I have no vision. Sorry, I just don't see it that way. // And while we're at it, let me state the obvious: We'll never see eye to eye. Here I am traveling around planting trees, and you're cutting them down to make newspapers.)) //

Indeed, **all** Presidents -- like most Americans -- have considered newspapers, at one time or another, good and evil -- but always, a **necessary** evil. // Or as the the first Presidential candidate I voted for observed: "For thousands of years, despots have tortured their opponents; and their governments have always fallen into the dust." Liberty would triumph, Tom Dewey concluded, for the simplest of reasons: "You can't shoot an idea with a gun." //

Over the last year, that idea has spread from Poland to Hungary to Panama to Nicaragua. Showing that freedom of expression is mankind's greatest weapon, and shield. // This concept is as old as the tablets of Mt. Sinai. And it's been championed by those -- like Johannes ((Yo-HAN-nes) Gutenberg ((GOOT-en-berg) five centuries ago -- who believed with all their heart that "In the beginning was the word." // Since then the

word has become ever-**stronger** -- and our world thus ever-**smaller**. Until today, our global village has become a global **family** -- your medium a link between one member and another. //

Look at the brave peoples of Asia and Central America, Africa and Eastern Europe -- the true heroes of the Revolution of '89. They prove what Lincoln said: "Let the people know the facts, and the Republic will be saved." // Except that as they came to know the facts -- and then, to **act** on them -- not only a Republic but democracy **itself** was saved. // For the world's emerging democracies -- like 1776 America -- freedom of the press has been the heartbeat that pumped life into the democratic dream. //

Let me suggest three reasons for the importance of newspapers to this Revolution of '89. First, **the state of modern technology**. // Ben Franklin wrote on parchment; Louis L'Amour on wax paper. By contrast, even typewriters now seem arcane. Yes, in China, **dazibao** -- handbills printed on mimeograph machines -- were handed out detailing that horrible day in Tiananmen Square. // And who can forget how in Czechoslovakia, copies of Vaclav Haval's manuscript were passed from one reader to another -- lighting truth like fireflies in the night. // But mostly, it is fax machines, computer terminals, and other high-tech equipment which have linked Nations, and peoples, during the last tumultuous year. // If freedom is the **essence** of journalism, technology has also made it the **message** of

journalism -- carrying its demand for human dignity to every corner of the globe. //

Consider, next, the **second** reason for the print media's impact: We are seeing, and sharing, **history in the making**. // Look at the Soviet Union, where totalitarianism is ebbing. Or Poland, where Solidarity's struggle has borne fruit in free elections. // Look at Panama -- where Operation "Just Cause" has advanced democracy -- a **noble** cause. Or Hungary -- where last year thousands greeted me in a downpour. Tears running down their faces -- cheering human liberty. // You've heard of those who cancel a newspaper subscription. Ask anyone that rainy night in Budapest. None of **them** would ever cancel freedom of the press.

strange comparison

In Leipzig last October -- 70,000 workers marched peacefully for liberty through the streets and squares. And in Prague two months later -- still **another** victory for the idea of free expression. For years, police chased carolers from its King's Road. **Last** Christmas, carols warmed the heart of the city. There was wonder in the air. // Newspapers have been called the **first draft of history**. In more countries than we dared dream possible, they are also becoming the **first breath of democracy**.

Finally, there is a **third** reason why the print media has never **mattered** more -- and why journalists, frankly, have never been **respected** more. I refer to those who over the years, their printing presses unloosed, have gone from instruments of the state to servants of the people: Editors, reporters, and commentators. ((I was only kidding recently when one of my

grandkids asked me the difference between my job and yours'. // I said it was **my** job to solve America's problems // and it's **your** job to make sure no one finds out about it if I do)). //

The fact **is** that it's your job to tell the truth -- informing the public as fairly and responsibly as possible, and letting the chips fall where they may. You do it day in, night out -- and you're always willing to lend a hand. // ((For instance, it's been good to know that if my remarks today needed editing, help wasn't far away)). // Raymond K. Price is the former editorial page editor of that great paper, the **New York Herald Tribune**. And once he wrote: "The role of the media is neither to promote the government nor to promote the government's adversaries." // That role you fill brilliantly, and courageously. Best of all, you have been joined in the Revolution of '89 by journalists abroad now **free** -- as well as **able** --to write the truth without censorship of fear. //

Who can think of 1989 and '90 without marveling at the men and women who have upheld -- and honored -- a free and fearless press? In Czechoslovakia, a playwright becomes President. His poetry will always be of the pen. His foreign minister and chief spokesman are journalists who had been jailed for years. // In Columbia, the respected editor of **El Espectador** is gunned down by 'sicarios' -- trained assassins who do their work from a speeding motorcycle. But the murdered editor's brother becomes publisher, and vows to fight -- and does. "It is a decisive moment in our history," he says. "We cannot back down." //

In that country, a bomb last year injures more than 70 employees of the same newspaper. Its building is virtually destroyed. But the next day, an edition hits the streets -- with help from a **competing** paper's print facilities. The front-page headline says, "We Will Continue." They do. And let me commend those U.S. papers which bought ads in **El Espectador** to show support. // And in Nicaragua -- perhaps **ultimate** proof that you "can't shoot an idea with a gun." Violeta de Chamorro, the wife of a murdered editor, becomes the president of the land he loved. **Freedom of the press begets freedom of the people**. //

As more countries of the world are following in the footsteps of democracy, print journalists are leading the way. As the country editor, William Allen White, did. // As two reporters, Sean Flynn and Dana Stone, did exactly twenty years ago on this date -- becoming the first American journalists captured by the Viet Cong. // And as editors have for hundreds of years -- and do more than ever, today. //

For that, I thank you -- as your Nation does. And salute you -- as Franklin would, and Ralph McGill, and that good man, Howard Simon. // Newspapers propelled the American Revolution. And spurred today's Revolution of '89. // Together, let's keep **both** alive and well -- for journalism's sake, and for everything we believe in. Thank you for this occasion. Hats off on this wonderful anniversary. And God bless the United States of America.

# # #

Davis/Martin
Title: NAB
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 <u>The Federalist Papers</u>. 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.

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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.

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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.

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# # #

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June 20, 1989, Tuesday

SECTION: OPINION; Pg. 19

LENGTH: 856 words

HEADLINE: 'Winds of Change' and the Freedom to Write

BYLINE: Gara LaMarche. Gara LaMarche is program director for the Freedom-to-Write Committee of PEN American Center.

BODY:

IN his inaugural address, President Bush declared that the ''winds of change'' were blowing across the globe, and that ''the day of the dictator is over.'' There is much hyperbole in that statement, and the man who once toasted Ferdinand Marcos for his human rights record and who recently had little to say about the state terrorism directed at Salman Rushdie is hardly a credible source. But he has a point.

For those of us who monitor the state of the freedom to write around the world, there is certainly the feeling that we are living in a time of ferment - a clamor for democracy that is fast dissolving many taboos in a country like the Soviet Union with a long record of repression. The extraordinary threat against Mr. Rushdie - which remains in force after 100 days, despite the end of the media feeding frenzy - for a brief time focused unusual attention on the plight of endangered writers, of whom there are far too many.

But there may also be a trend away from the grosser forms of human rights abuse. Six honorary members of PEN American Center - selected by its Freedom-to-Write Committee for particular attention - have been released since October. By another measure, PEN's London-based International Writers-in-Prison Committee reported in January that there were no writers in prisons, labor camps, psychiatric hospitals, or internal exile anywhere in the USSR - where only a year ago there were over 70.

Despite these amazing developments, the USSR still has a long way to go toward meeting internationally accepted standards of freedom of expression. And there are few signs of glasnost in neighboring Czechoslovakia, where hundreds of demonstrators commemorating the 20th anniversary of the self-immolation of Jan Palach were arrested in January in Wenceslas Square. Among them was the country's leading playwright, Vaclav Havel, who served yet another prison sentence, this time on charges of ''disturbing the peace'' and ''hooliganism.'' The poet and journalist Ivan Jirous has been detained since October for ''damaging the interests of the state abroad'' - in other words, protesting human rights violations by the regime.

Yet even in Czechoslovakia, the ''winds of change'' are blowing. A new generation of activists - like the young editors of Revolver Revue, a samizdat journal - refuses to accept the deception and stultifying control of the authorities. The same phenomenon is driving the movement for change in China. On the other hand, the younger generation in traditionally democratic nations like England and Israel seems much too disposed to accept the erosion of individual

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liberties by governments that invoke the devalued talisman of ''national security'' to silence critics or restrain protesters.

Perhaps the single greatest change in the human rights picture in recent years is the recognition by most governments that they must at least pay lip service to the concept, and that the way they treat their citizens is not simply an internal affair.

For instance, the February coup in Paraguay that displaced the repressive regime of President Alfredo Stroessner was led by officials who were part of the old guard, and there is reason to be skeptical that they will make good on their promises of democracy and greater respect for human rights. But among the first acts of the new government was to call home from exile the country's leading novelist, Augusto Roa Bastos, and permit the reopening of an independent newspaper and radio station.

This sensitivity to world opinion could be a strong lever in the case of Turkey, whose brutal treatment of writers and other political prisoners is in flagrant violation of international human rights conventions it has ratified, and may be a serious obstacle to its government's application for acceptance into the European Economic Community.

The greatest challenge for writers who care about human rights is to keep events moving in the right direction without settling for symbolic public-relations gestures, like South Africa's ''release'' of New Nation founder Zwelakhe Sisulu and other detained writers under conditions that confine them to home in the evenings, require them to report twice daily to authorities, and bar them from most writing and interviews and from taking part in any meeting of more than 10 people. South Africa's government appears to be gambling that emptying its prisons of writers and human rights activists under these gagged conditions of near-total surveillance will be sufficient to divert the attention of the international human rights community.

Let us hope it is mistaken. Liberty of thought and expression, like all fundamental rights, can never be entrusted to government, but survives only, in Thomas Jefferson's words, through ''eternal vigilance.'' Writers must work with the ''winds of change'' to steer a clear course, focused on the plight of writers like Salman Rushdie, Zwelakhe Sisulu, Vaclav Havel, and Ivan Jirous, and to keep the pressure on Paraguay, Turkey, and the dozens of other countries that censor, harass, imprison, and kill men and women for what they think, say, and write.

GRAPHIC: ART: BRIAN LIES

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32ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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May 1, 1989, Monday, NORTH SPORTS FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 8; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 95 words

HEADLINE: Soviet police detain dissident publishers

BYLINE: From Chicago Tribune wires

DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

Police grabbed leaders of underground political groups who defied a government warning Sunday and gathered to sell copies of their illegal magazines on a crowded pedestrian mall. Leaders of the Democratic Union, Express-Chronicle, Free Migration, Debate and Trust groups were hauled away and detained after ignoring police calls to disperse. "Down with the fascists!" one man yelled at police as they grabbed the activists. The groups had declared Sunday a " samizdat holiday." Samizdat (literally, self-published) refers to underground newspapers and magazines.

TERMS: SOVIET UNION; ARREST; MEDIA; GROUP

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61ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1987 The Washington Post

October 28, 1987, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A23

LENGTH: 349 words

HEADLINE: New Unofficial Soviet Journals Unite to Seek Legal Status

BYLINE: Celestine Bohlen, Washington Post Foreign Service

DATELINE: MOSCOW, Oct. 27, 1987

BODY:

Representatives of the Soviet Union's growing unofficial press have joined forces to press for legal recognition and access to print shops and copying machines.

Editors from 17 different publications, ranging from monthly literary magazines to weekly bulletins reporting on protests and political prisoners, met last weekend in Leningrad and issued a communique calling for the coordinated effort.

The two-day meeting at the literary Club 81 also was attended by correspondents of the official Soviet press, including the major newspapers Izvestia and Literaturnaya Gazeta, although no reports of the meeting have appeared in the media.

The gathering marked a new stage in the development of the independent press, which has gathered strength in recent months under the new standard of glasnost, or openness. Unofficial publications have surfaced in a half dozen Soviet cities, from Odessa to Novosibirsk, as well as Moscow and Leningrad.

One of the goals outlined in Leningrad was to allow the unofficial journals to form cooperatives, or some other type of enterprise, that would be recognized by state authorities.

Although widely divergent in their philosophical views, the editors were agreed on the difficulties faced by the samizdat -- self-publishing -- press. Denied access to copiers, mimeograph machines and computer printers, which are tightly controlled by the state, these editors use carbon copies of typed manuscripts, limiting circulation to less than 100.

Since all printing presses are government-owned, unofficial groups have no legal access to printshops. Editors of the Moscow journal Glasnost were accused in the official press recently of illegally using government presses.

Particpants included representatives of SMOT, a recently revived publication of an independent trade union, the editor of the newly formed Moscow Bulletin of the Christian Community, and the Leningrad editor of a new Jewish almanac called Lea. After 12 hours of discussion, the group agreed to found a "journal of journals" that would publish fragments from the different publications.

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(Smith/Blessey)
April 4, 1990
11 A.M.
PAPER

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NEWSPAPER EDITORS
MARRIOTT HOTEL
FRIDAY, APRIL 6, 1990

Ladies and gentlemen, honored guests. This marks my second appearance as President before the American Society of Newspaper Editors. And since I love that numbers thing // I am grateful for the chance to address you on the 300th anniversary of the American newspaper.

((Last year I spoke for nearly half-an-hour. This year I thought I'd do something a little different and make my speech the same length as the average story in **USA Today**. // So thank you and good-day.)) //

((Seriously, I do have a confession. I'm a newspaper junkie. // I say that even though we don't always see eye to eye. // Here I am traveling around planting trees, and you're cutting them down for pulp wood.)) //

Don't worry: I still love newspapers. After all, when I was a little kid, my mother made me read them. // And now that I'm President of the United States, I intend to **keep** reading them. // The reason is simple -- as Casey Stengel said, "you can look it up": **Never have newspapers been more crucial than over this past year -- what I call the Revolution of '89**. //

Today, that revolution is sweeping the globe -- demanding rights that were central to America's Spirit of '76: Rights like

freedom of assembly, religion, press, free speech. // For while much has changed since America's first paper -- **Publick Occurrences** -- began in 1690 (only printed once). // What has **not** changed -- even in today's age of visual images -- is the power of the printed word to secure freedoms we Americans long ago sought, and won. //

Jefferson said, "If I had to choose between a government without newspapers and newspapers without a government, I would choose the latter." And most Americans would agree. // Not merely because newspapers helped write America's **first draft of history**. But because -- in more countries than we dared dream possible -- they are also becoming the **first breath of democracy**.//

Over the last year, the printed word has helped liberty spread from Nicaragua to the Ukraine. Defending free markets // endorsing **ballots** over **bullets** // upholding free will unhampered by the State.

In **Poland**, for instance, Solidarity's strength has borne fruit in free elections. // And in **Germany**, a wall collapses -- uniting brothers and lifting hearts. // To the south, **Hungary** stages its first multi-party parliamentary elections since 1945 -- here, too, the printed word prevails. And in the **Soviet Union** -- its first multi-candidate elections at the local or Republic level. // Events undreamt of a mere twelve months ago, and which confirm -- as Thomas Dewey said -- **"You can't shoot an idea with a gun."** // Events showing how the printed word has been the **heartbeat** pumping **life** into the democratic dream. //

Such a heartbeat, of course, demands advocates. And let me first note the dissidents and educators -- private citizens -- concerned individuals -- all who have acted as **couriers of freedom**. // Ben Franklin ~~once~~ wrote on ~~parchment~~ rag paper; William Byers ~~Horace Greeley~~ on ~~paper bags~~ brown wrapping paper. Like them, today's advocates have defied the odds, and often the law, to print the truth that sets men free.

Recall how in China, **dazibao** -- handbills printed on mimeograph machines -- were published detailing that horrible day in Tiananmen Square. // Or how in Czechoslovakia, faded copies of Vaclav Havel's manuscripts were passed from one reader to another -- lighting faces like fireflies in the night. // In the USSR, officials were once so afraid of information that photocopiers were regulated. So brave citizens went underground -- printing dissident writings -- "samizdat" -- a hundred carbons at a time. //

Today, "samizdat" is ebbing -- for protest has gone **above** the ground. Spurred by the fax machines, computer terminals, and other equipment which have linked Nations, and peoples, during the Revolution of '89. // If freedom is the **essence** of the printed word, these heroes have also made it the **message** of the printed word -- carrying its demand for human dignity to every corner of the globe. // As have the reporters, commentators, and editors abroad who have gone from **instruments of the State** to **servants of the people**. //

For decades America's newspapers have seen as their job to tell the truth -- informing the public as fairly and responsibly

as possible, and letting the chips fall where they may. And for decades you have done that job brilliantly, and courageously. // What makes the Revolution of '89 so **unprecedented** is that at last increasing number of foreign journalists are **also free** -- as well as **able** -- to write the truth without censorship or fear. //

Who can think of 1989 and '90 without marveling at the men and women who have upheld -- and honored -- the tradition of a courageous free press? In Czechoslovakia, a playwright becomes President. Both his foreign minister and chief spokesmen are former journalists who had been jailed by opponents for years. // In Columbia, the respected editor of **El Espectador** is slain by assassins who shoot from a speediung motorcycle. But the murdered editor's brother becomes publisher, and vows to fight -- and does. "It is a decisive moment in our history," he says. "We cannot back down."

In that country, a bomb last year injures over 70 employees of the same newspaper. Its building is virtually destroyed. But the next day, an edition hits the streets -- printed by a competing paper's facilities. The front-page headline says, "We will continue." They do. And let me commend those U.S. papers which bought ads in **El Spectador** to show support. // In Poland, the former editor of **Solidarity Weekly** is named Prime Minister. // And in Nicaragua -- perhaps **ultimate** proof that you can't shoot an idea with a gun." Violeta de Chamorro, former editor and wife of a murdered publisher, becomes president of the

land he loved. **Freedom of the press begets freedom of the people**.//

As more countries of the world are following in the footsteps of democracy, print journalists are leading the way. Aided by countless private citizens intent on making our global village a global **family** -- and the printed word a link between one member and another. //

For that, I thank **them**, and **you** -- as free men do around the globe. // The printed word propelled the Spirit of '76. And now spurs the Revolution of '89. // It must remain vigilant and unafraid. And thus keep newspapers writing history -- and breathing life into democracy. // Thank you for what you're doing, and for this occasion. Hats off on this wonderful anniversary. And God bless the United States of America.

# # # #

The American Treasury

1455-1955

SELECTED, ARRANGED, AND EDITED BY

CLIFTON FADIMAN

ASSISTED BY CHARLES VAN DOREN



Harper & Brothers, Publishers
New York

THE BUDGET
1960
of the President

You can do business with anyone, but you can only sail a boat with a gentleman.

J. P. MORGAN, at Bar Harbor

To possibly the world's worst yacht builder, but absolutely the world's most cheerful loser.

WILL ROGERS, suggested inscription for a cup to be bought by American citizens and presented to Sir Thomas Lipton as compensation for his five unsuccessful attempts to take the America's cup

INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION

•

THE PRESS

The basis of our governments being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. But I should mean that every man should receive those papers, and be capable of reading them.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, letter to Colonel Edward Carrington, Paris, January 16, 1787

Blame is safer than praise. I hate to be defended in a newspaper.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON, *Essays: First Series,* "Compensation"

We live under a government of men and morning newspapers.

WENDELL PHILLIPS

It is a newspaper's duty to print the news, and raise hell.

WILBUR F. STOREY, Statement of Aims of the Chicago *Times,* which Storey edited, 1861

Read not the Times. Read the Eternities.

HENRY DAVID THOREAU, "Life Without Principle," *Atlantic Monthly,* 1863

Richard Norton Smith

THOMAS E. DEWEY AND HIS TIMES



SIMON and SCHUSTER
New York

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there was a bill pending before Congress, co-authored by Senator Karl Mundt and Representative Richard Nixon, that would outlaw the party definitively. Why did Dewey—not to mention Henry Wallace—oppose such a ban? Stassen wanted to know. "We must not coddle Communism with legality," he warned.

When Dewey's turn came, he fumbled for dates, misplaced a congressional report that belied Stassen's contention that the Mundt-Nixon bill would outlaw the party, and discarded a formal text in favor of short, powerful jabs reminiscent of his earlier courtroom performances. The effect was all the more persuasive for its artlessness. Dewey praised the "fine, solid, good American job," being done by the House Un-American Activities Committee, but quoted Mundt himself to portray Stassen as being in "grievous error" in his sweeping claims for Mundt-Nixon. He cited the unhappy experience of Canada, another nation frightened into outlawing Communism, only to find itself unwitting host to an international espionage ring operating out of the Russian embassy in Ottawa

"This outlawing idea is nothing new," Dewey asserted. "It is as old as government. For thousands of years, despots have tortured, imprisoned, killed, and exiled their opponents; and their governments have always fallen into the dust." He pointed for proof to Czarist Russia, Mussolini's Italy, and Vichy France. Dewey was "grateful," he said, for Stassen's bringing up "the beautiful example" of Czechoslovakia, and asked if the American people really wished to adopt totalitarian methods to defeat totalitarianism abroad. "There's no such thing as a constitutional right to destroy all constitutional rights," he insisted. Then, in words long remembered by listeners who forgot other debating points, Dewey growled out his position.

"I am unalterably, wholeheartedly, and unswervingly against any scheme to write laws outlawing people because of their religion, political, social, or economic ideas. I am against it because it is a violation of the Constitution of the United States and of the Bill of Rights, and clearly so. I am against it because it is immoral and nothing but totalitarianism itself. I am against it because I know from a great many years experience in the enforcement of the law that the proposal wouldn't work, and instead it would rapidly advance the cause of Communism in the United States and all over the world. . . . Stripped to its naked essentials, this is nothing but the method of Hitler and Stalin. It is thought control, borrowed from the Japanese war leadership. It is an attempt to beat down ideas with a club. It is a surrender of everything we believe in."[33]

CJR

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A Correspondent's Story

Euphoria And Wu'er Kaixi... And Then The Killing

By John Schidlovsky

If it hadn't been for Hu Yaobang's death, China's spring of pro-democracy demonstrations and the resultant armed assault by government troops on Tiananmen Square would never have happened. But when the former Chinese Communist Party leader died on April 15, few people would have predicted China was on the brink of a cataclysmic event that would become the foreign story of the year, perhaps of many years.

Among the least prescient were members of Beijing's foreign press corps. In the two years since I had arrived in the Chinese capital, the correspondents of Beijing had grown accustomed to repeating the conventional wisdom that the China story had slid way off the front page. It had been a full decade since Deng Xiaoping opened up the Middle Kingdom to the outside world, and the world's curiosity about China—it seemed to us—had been satisfied firsthand by the hordes of travelers that came to see the Great Wall, buy jeans from the private vendors and eat noodles at the free-market stalls. We reporters were writing features and backgrounders on the slowdown of China's 10-year-old economic reform program—an important development for the future of communism but hardly the stuff to push *perestroika* off Page One.

Certainly none of us expected much from China's university students. Ever since Hu was ousted as general secretary of the Communist Party for being overly sympathetic to student demonstrations in 1986 and 1987, the campuses around Beijing had been quiet. In January and February of this year, a small group of Chinese intellectuals led by astrophysicist Fang Lizhi had mounted a signature campaign to release jailed dissidents. But students had stayed aloof from the effort, which seemed to fizzle in March. Most of us thought a resurgence of Chinese student activism was years away.

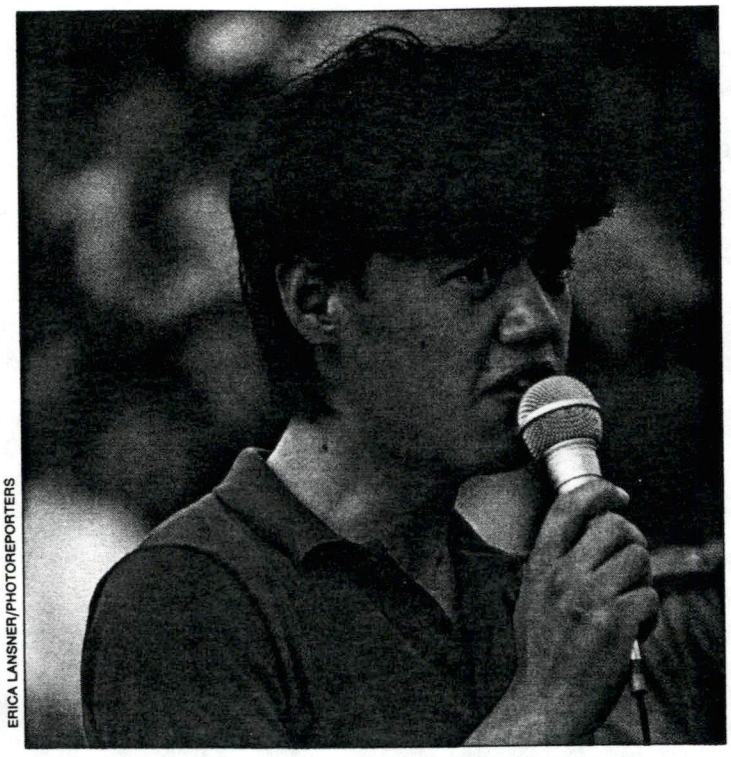
When Hu died on that Saturday in mid-April, I was in Hong Kong winding up a shopping trip to stock up on supplies for the Beijing office. I called my editor in Baltimore and asked whether he wanted me to cut my trip short. Personally I saw no urgent reason to rush back to

John Schidlovsky is the Baltimore Sun*'s Beijing bureau chief.*



MARK DEVILLE/GAMMA LIAISON

Beijing. We had an obit of Hu on file, and I saw the ousted party leader's death as a one- or two-day story. My editor agreed and told me to finish the trip as planned. But two days later, on April 17, my office assistant in Beijing called me in Hong Kong to tell me something remarkable. More than 1,000 Chinese students had marched that day to Tiananmen Square in an impromptu demonstration to mourn Hu. Some had chanted slogans asking for democracy and freedom. My office assistant, a Chinese-American graduate student, had marched the nine miles with the students, talking to them and translating their slogans and banners. With her help I filed a story from Hong Kong. By the time I returned to Beijing on Tuesday, it was clear that something extraordinary had begun. The students were marching again and that night tried to storm the gate of Zhongnanhai, the compound where Prime Minister Li and other Chinese leaders live and work. For the first of dozens of times to come, my Beijing colleagues and I stayed up all night to cover the unprecedented protest and to file our stories. There was no doubt that we were witnessing a turning point in China's history.



ERICA LANSNER/PHOTOREPORTERS

A star rises: Wu'er exhorts his fellow students.

In the repressive atmosphere of post-Tiananmen Beijing, it is easy to forget and tempting to dismiss the euphoria of the seven-week student democracy movement as overly idealistic. Now we realize that many students were surprisingly naive about the underlying repressiveness of China's leadership. They never guessed that tanks would replace platitudes in the government's arsenal of responses to their demands. Neither, of course, did most reporters. For us, the democracy movement was a rare time when Chinese citizens spoke freely and publicly about their party and government leaders.

The exhilaration in Beijing, normally a drab and dour city of reserved bureaucrats, was profound and eventually seemed to override any cautiousness our interview subjects might have felt when we reminded them of the government's secret cameras and listening devices. "Aren't you afraid of being seen talking with me?" I asked a middle-aged man who had joined thousands of other Beijing residents in blocking troops from entering the city one day in late May. Dozens of people were gathered around, listening to our conversation in which the Chinese man was calling for the "arrest" of Premier Li Peng. "No," said the man. "Everyone here agrees with me."

Today we know more about the government's capacity for brutality, and it is possible that my middle-aged interlocutor was arrested or detained because of our conversation. Like hundreds of others I interviewed, he must at least have occasional pangs of fear or regret about talking so openly with a member of the foreign press corps, which Beijing hard-liners now denounce for "distorting" the truth of the "counterrevolutionary rebellion," as they call the democracy movement. Many of my colleagues share my sadness about possibly endangering sources. These days we still don't talk to our closest Chinese friends and sources, most of whom have sent us discreet messages to wait for "later," some unspecified time when it will be safer.



ERIC BOUVET/GAMMA LIAISON

In the early days of the movement, the students were circumspect about talking to us. I remember the night of April 19, when Knight-Ridder's Lewis Simons and I were among a handful of correspondents who managed to stay in front of Zhongnanhai in the middle of the night to cover a sit-in. Police had cleared the area, pushing away most of the other foreign reporters and sealing off the compound.

Lew and I interviewed several of the student leaders at length. Throughout the night the usual Chinese circles of eavesdroppers formed at our conversations, during which students told us Deng and Li were "dictators." At the end of one chat we handed two of the more articulate students our business cards, in hopes they would telephone us someday to arrange further talks. They accepted the cards gladly and, in exchange, began to tell us their names and how to reach them. Suddenly one of the students looked around. A Chinese "student" was taking a photograph of the moment. "I think we'd better leave," said our contact nervously. He and his friend slipped away, and I noticed that they were being followed.

A few hours later uniformed police arrived to drag off the students who had staged the sit-in. Before the police began, a group of plainclothes officers came up to Lew and me and asked us to leave. When I refused, about half a dozen of them grabbed me and pulled me from the area. Among them was a denim-clad, long-haired "student" who had been avidly listening to all our conversations earlier that night.

It was on the same night that Wu'er Kaixi, a 21-year-old student from Beijing Normal University, became a movement celebrity. Today, having escaped from China, he has emerged as one of the leaders of the anti-government resistance. But he was unknown until that balmy April night when he spontaneously grabbed a microphone and spoke to a mass of demonstrators. I remember David Holley of the *Los Angeles Times* saying to me, referring to an imprisoned leader of the decade-old Democracy Wall movement, "If anyone becomes the next Wei Jinsheng, it is that student who spoke tonight."

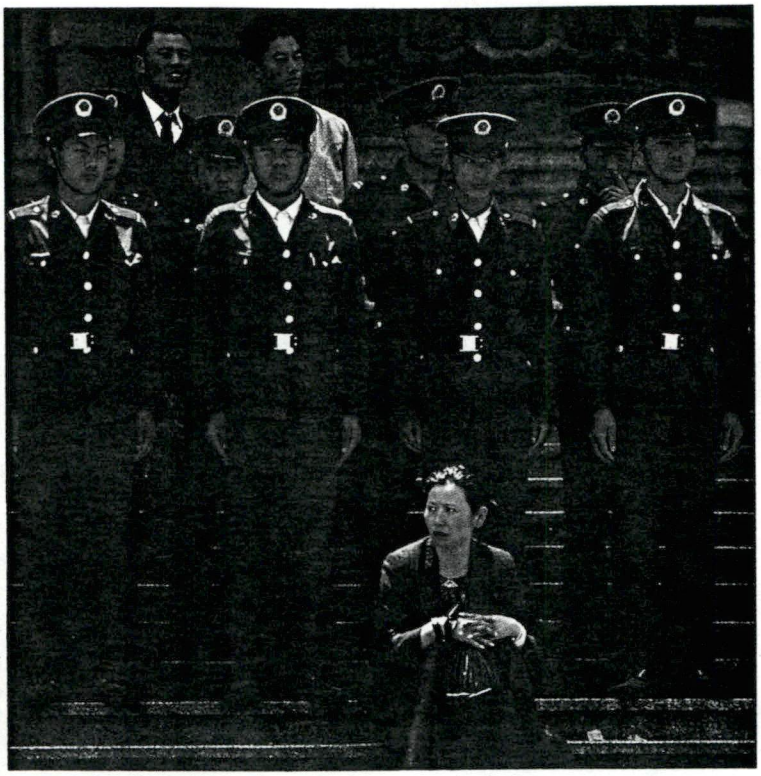
A few days later, with the help of student friends, I tracked down Wu'er at his dorm room and interviewed him. I was joined by John Pomfret, an Associated Press reporter who was later expelled from China because of his reporting and close contact with students. Ours was the first interview Wu'er gave to American correspondents, and it was clear the young student already had

talk to the People the knows how they feel

ambitious plans to broaden the embryonic democracy movement.

"People tell me I'm working for one billion people," said Wu'er. "We want to expand the movement. Then we'll be in a better position to bargain with the government."

Later, in his encounters with the foreign press, he developed a swaggering self-assurance that became one of his trademarks. But on this day Wu'er was soft-spoken, shy. At one point he glanced down at the T-shirt of my office assistant, who had come along on the interview. An attractive young woman who had confessed to having a slight crush on the handsome Wu'er, she had playfully stamped her shirt with the red-ink seal of Wu'er's name from the students' headquarters. When she saw him staring at the front of her shirt, she blushed. Her embarrassment caused Wu'er to blush. It was a very human moment, and one that came to mind after the Chinese army's tanks had thundered their way into Tiananmen Square.



ERIC LANSNER/PHOTOREPORTERS

On the steps of Zhongnanhai: The unrest allowed some individuals a brief respite from a conformist society.

The June 3-4 assault on the square was an event that the foreign press corps covered as well as it could under such hazardous reporting conditions. Most of us were in the square that night and stayed as long as we safely could. I left the northern end around 2 a.m., just as the army was arriving. I saw dozens of people who had been hit by the soldiers' gunfire. I saw their bloodied bodies rushed from the scene on bicycles and pedicabs. I stayed until the bullets were flying past my ears. Then I went back to my office and filed my story.

As the days passed and the questions about the army's conduct in the square remained unanswered, I began to regret ever leaving the square. Of course I had no choice since I had to get back to the bureau and write my story. But what had I missed? How many people had been killed? Did the army's tanks crush students? Were students who left the monument in the middle of the square fired on by the soldiers, or were they allowed to go peacefully? Did the army burn the bodies of demonstrators in a giant bonfire?

Chinese authorities have devised an elaborate account of the night's events that claims no one was killed in the square itself and that only 36 students died in the army's advance on the square. Much of the government's report appears to be concocted out of surmises, half-truths and wishful thinking in order to buttress the hard-liners' allegation of a "plot to overthrow the socialist system."

But the official Chinese version has also cast some doubt on the validity of some initial reports that as many as 3,000 were killed. I have talked to many people who claim to have been in Tiananmen all morning. Some say they saw soldiers fire on students. Eyewitnesses have told me of seeing army tanks and personnel carriers roll over demonstrators on their way to the square. A friend of mine says he will soon introduce me to someone who lost a limb under an advancing tank. Many of the details of that night's attack will not be known for years, if at all. For a journalist, the unanswered questions—and the difficulty of obtaining information when the hard-line regime is intent on concealing the facts—are enormously frustrating.



FORREST ANDERSON/GAMMA LIAISON

Accurate information has always been a scant commodity in China. This is the original home of reporting as tea-leaf reading. Much of the excitement of covering the democracy movement came from the story being so gloriously out in the open. Even so, reliable information was hard to get. At the height of the students' hunger strike in mid-May, access to its leaders was severely limited. The students formed concentric rings of marshals who seemed to delight in keeping everyone, including foreign reporters, from penetrating the inner sanctums.

The rumor mills reached their peak of production in the days immediately after the Tiananmen Square assault, when a civil war between rival armies seemed imminent. It now appears that the possibility of such an event was exaggerated.

Some of the reporting during those days was based on poor intelligence reports from foreign embassies, wishful thinking on the part of Chinese student sources and journalists' own conjectures about the mysterious movements of Chinese troops. But many reporters are convinced that there was a basis in fact to believe that substantial elements within the military were opposed to the brutal suppression of the democracy movement.

There still has been no satisfactory explanation—other than clashes between army units—for the steady sound of heavy artillery heard outside Beijing for several days. There is no doubt that an intense political power struggle, one that surely would have touched elements within the army, was occurring between hard-liners and moderates for days after the attack. It was only with Deng's reappearance on June 9 that the outcome of this internal struggle became clear.

Now, as Deng and the hard-liners pursue their crackdown, the foreign press corps is forced to resort to more traditional ways of covering China. We are back to reading between the lines of the editorials in the *People's Daily*, watching the order of appearance of party officials shown on the nightly government newscast and relying on diplomats and China-watchers to tell us what may or may not be going on. Reliable Chinese dissident sources are still underground, if not in jail. Someday we may re-establish our links with them. But that day will not be soon. ●

A Producer's Story

The Camera's Red Glare

By John H. Reiss

On the evening of June 3, I met ABC News cameraman Ron Dean at the west entrance of China's Great Hall of the People, the side facing away from Tiananmen Square. This was where the latest act in the two-week confrontation between the People's Liberation Army and the people was playing out. In the warm light of dusk, a few thousand troops found themselves in the position so many of their brethren had before them: seated cross-legged on the ground, surrounded by thousands of jubilant pro-democracy protesters. Dean, sound man Roberto Palacios and I inched our way toward the soldiers as the cheerful crowd cleared a path for us, eager for the world to witness its latest victory.

When we reached the troops, Dean climbed atop his three-step ladder and aimed his camera at them. Instantly one of the soldiers leaped to his feet, pointed and screamed at him in Chinese. The message was clear: Stop shooting now. Dean held his position. As the soldier's anger swelled, Dean waited until his camera was steady, focused tightly on his subject and got the shot that was sure to make the next evening newscast. Embraced and protected by thousands of well-wishers, we knew no harm would come to us from this or any other soldier. The People's Army had been routed again.

It was 8 in the evening.

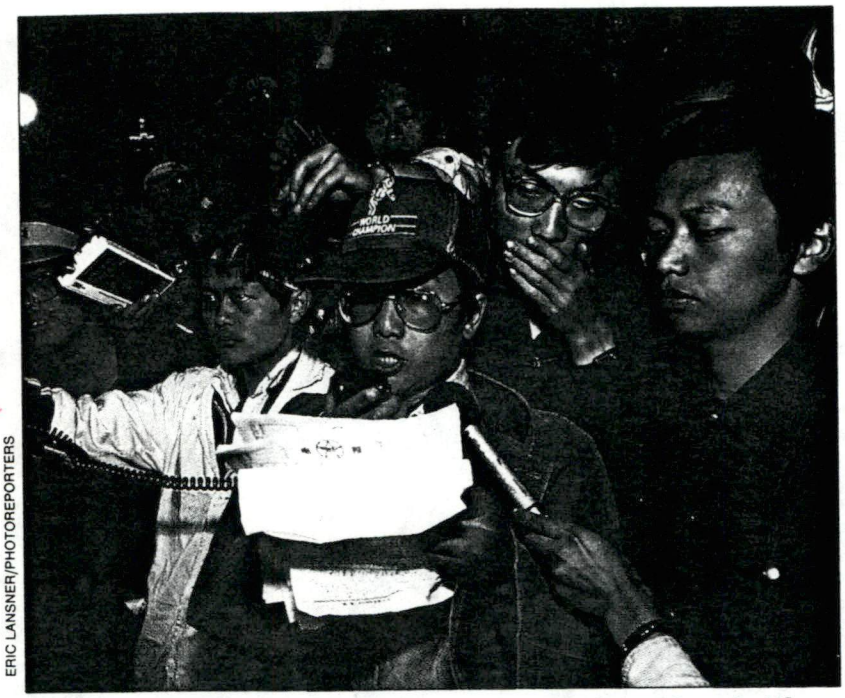
The next five hours brought an epochal change. By 1 a.m. Beijing was the scene of a bloody massacre. Standing by the Monument to the People's Heroes at the center of Tiananmen Square, we learned from our two-way radios that to the west along Changan Avenue the People's Liberation Army was slaughtering the people as it moved toward the square. As tens of thousands of students, undaunted or unaware, sang the "Socialiste Internationale," the three of us made our way to the south end of the square, where protesters surrounded more soldiers, perhaps the same ones we had seen earlier in the evening. Again we made our way through the cooperative crowd, again Dean climbed on his ladder and again he aimed his camera at the troops. But this time when a soldier rose menacingly to his feet and ordered him to stop, Dean jumped off the ladder and held up his hand as if to say, "OK. OK. See? I've stopped." The soldier glowered at Dean before slowly settling down. Never again would we be able to point our cameras at troops with impunity, never again could we march through the streets of the capital city emboldened by the vitality of a mass movement. We had entered a new phase of television coverage.

John H. Reiss is a producer with ABC News in Washington, D.C.

ERIC BOUVET/GAMMA LIAISON

There are indelible images of the Beijing Spring of 1989, countless images played out in American living rooms on TV: the joyous protesters in Tiananmen Square, the unflagging parade of demonstrators moving up and down Changan Avenue, the Goddess of Democracy statue aimed at the U.S. audience. They suggest, accurately, an eagerness to play to the international media, particularly television, particularly American television.

By the time I arrived in Beijing, on April 29, the movement's future seemed uncertain. Most of the visible action at Beijing University, birthplace of the pro-democracy movement, centered around the crowds gathering to read the wall posters that enumerated the students' demands. These were good shots: people reading, copying, debating. But television demands sound, specifically sound bites, and getting the activists to talk was another matter. While groups would gather around the camera all the time, few students were willing to venture in front of it.



ERIC LANSNER/PHOTOREPORTERS

From suspicious to savvy: Students show their newfound attitude toward the media by holding a press conference.

I spent one exasperating morning trying to find English-speaking students willing to go on camera. After making a fool of myself shouting, "Does anybody here speak English?" for what seemed like hours, one student took pity on me and explained that no one would respond to such a crude request. I would have to ask individually, and then, maybe, students would talk. Ultimately they did; in fact, foreshadowing what would prove to be the students' media savvy, one young man made a tortured effort to recite the Declaration of Independence. A Chinese student memorizing Thomas Jefferson was irresistible television. He made air more than once.

Trying to learn the students' next move was often akin to a treasure hunt. We would chase students on the strength of rumors. On May 2 a group of student leaders decided to ride their bicycles to various government offices and present a list of demands. Once we had located the students, we weren't told when they would leave, what route they would take or what stops they would make. The mad chase after the bicycle caravan was followed by what became our routine that week: speed back to the bureau, cut the spot and, with a driver who was half Mario Andretti, half bumper-car enthusiast, careen down Changan Avenue to Central China Television, where we would feed our piece for the morning news shows via satellite to New York. The same drive was made again, with somewhat less angst, around dawn the following morning for "World News Tonight."

If the students treated the foreign media with benign indifference during the early weeks of the movement, one man unwittingly changed all that: Mikhail Gorbachev. On May 13 the students began the hunger strike that would become an international *cause célèbre,* and two days later the Soviet leader ensured that the world would take notice when his plane set down at Beijing's



CHRIS MENDENTHAL/TIME MAGAZINE

airport for the first Sino-Soviet summit in 30 years. There was no welcoming ceremony at Tiananmen Square for Gorbachev as planned because the square had become the base of a giddy pro-democracy movement that was growing geometrically.

Suddenly the students were eager participants in an international media event. In fact, the camera became a beacon. Bringing a camera anywhere, whether to Tiananmen Square or to a back alley, would attract a small throng of boisterous demonstrators, all of whom, it seemed, had something to say. Chinese people, who historically have shunned attention from foreigners—partly out of fear of retribution by authorities and partly out of a psychology that encourages conformity—now embraced it.

Television crews were not only welcomed, but by unanimous consent they were anointed as heroes. Each day during Gorbachev's visit we walked the half mile from the Beijing Hotel to the square to sustained applause. It is difficult to explain the kinship one feels with a crowd that embraces one so unconditionally.

"In the beginning, the first week, it was very rough," says ABC Beijing Bureau Chief Todd Carrel. "People would threaten to smash the camera. They wanted the movement to be covered, but they didn't want to be personally identified." Beginning with Gorbachev's visit, that fear evaporated.

For example, on a dismal rainy day in Shanghai, we went to the People's Square. Not only did the sea of people there part to let us through, but the crowd, realizing that Dean was seeking a high perch from which to shoot, lifted him onto a narrow cement post and held him steady as a man led the crowd in singing the "Socialiste Internationale," the movement's unofficial anthem.

On a typically exhausting day during the demonstrations, Carrel and I would go to the square, get a sense of what was happening, shoot his stand-ups for "World News This Morning" and "Good Morning America" and perhaps a secondary spot for "World News Tonight." Then we would find an ABC driver, race back to our base at the Sheraton Great Wall Hotel, cut the morning news spot with Tape Editor Andy Scott, inhale a coffee shop dinner, get our marching orders from "World News Tonight," write and edit the requested spot, watch it air at 7:30 a.m. Beijing time (6:30 p.m. EDT), go to sleep and get up a few hours later to do it all again.

It's worth noting some things that made covering the demonstrations with a camera distinct from print reporting. We discovered that the best way to get a coherent sound bite about the movement's goals was to ask, "What do you want?" People inevitably replied: democracy and freedom of the press. Yet of the 30 or so people whom I asked, "What do you mean when

you say 'democracy?' " only one replied that he wanted the right to vote. Correspondents' descriptions of this were in vain, overwhelmed by the endless sound bites and pictures of people calling for democracy.

Much of what made the movement seem so special was not telegenic: one person flashing a victory sign; the hotel employee who stood transfixed as he watched tapes of demonstrations unseen on Chinese TV; the relentless parade of trucks filled with elated demonstrators miles from the square; 30 workers, tightly crunched on a small truck on the back streets of Beijing, singing, waving, chanting for Premier Li Peng to step down, performing for no particular audience—illustrating just how thoroughly the movement had gripped the city. But the picture of a lone truck couldn't compete with the frenzy of Tiananmen and rarely made air.



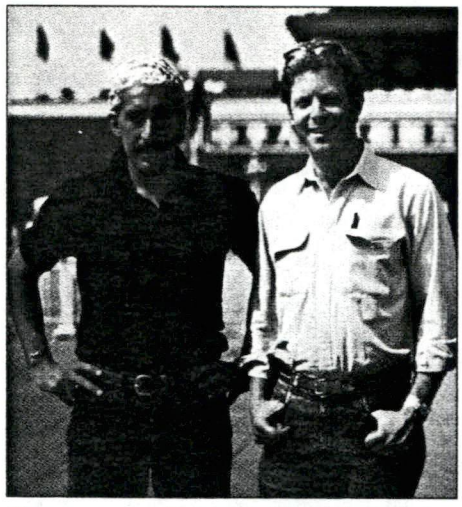
SHUNSUKE AKATSUKA/REUTERS/BETTMAN NEWSPHOTOS

They knew how to captivate the English-speaking audience.

In the movement's heady days anything seemed possible, even the toppling of the Communist hierarchy. It is undeniable that foreign journalists admired the protesters' exuberance, bravery and lust for freedom. Yet there was an important distinction: We would go home someday. The demonstrators *were* home and would live, or die, with the consequences of their actions. Intellectually, we understood that the young protesters faced ludicrous odds in challenging the Communist gerontocracy. But the sheer enormity of the peaceful movement had a poetic beauty and an infectious emotional power. For a few historic days China truly had its claimed government of the people, as the leaders' desultory efforts to restore order reflected paralysis and disarray. It was nearly impossible not to return the V-for-victory sign to the thousands who flashed it at us. At the least, our emotional alliance with the protesters made the end that much more shocking.

China's Great Leap Backward began on the night of June 3 with a forward thrust down Changan Avenue, where many, if not most, of the casualties occurred. By the time our crew left Tiananmen, two armored patrol carriers had been set ablaze. Troops to the south, which we were prevented from photographing, were shooting ominous orange tracer bullets into the night, and the sound of heavy gunfire shook the air as soldiers bullied their way down Changan toward the north end of the square, under Mao Tse-tung's portrait. As a member of the TV generation, I had witnessed violence before—Vietnam, Beirut, South Africa—always with the supreme confidence of invulnerability. Now I had to remind myself that there was no glass wall separating me from the chaos unraveling in Tiananmen.

Richard Roth of CBS News needed no reminders. He was on a cellular phone to CBS's New York offices when troops moved on him and cameraman Derek Williams. Roth's chilling description of the event was played over and over on U.S. television.



Cameraman Dean (left) with Reiss in Tiananmen Square

The troops first separated Williams from his camera and then went for him as Roth yelled, "I'll go," again and again. Roth was knocked down and kicked, then held by two soldiers while a third floored him with a left hook, breaking his glasses. "There was a brief period of psychological slow motion where I said, 'OK. I'm going to look down and see blood on my shirt,' " Roth recalls, "and I looked down and there was blood on my shirt. Then I said, 'I'm going to put my hand to my eye and there will be blood on it,' and I did and there was." Roth received some first aid and was held in the Forbidden City nearby, along with Williams and others (mostly tourists), for 19 hours; then he was released.

By Sunday morning, with the government clearly in control, caution had replaced our earlier bravado. Beijing's martial law decree, which included a prohibition on reporting, empowered authorities to enforce its provisions "with force, on the spot." There was now reason to believe the authorities would do just that.

For the next few days we played an elaborate game of hide-and-seek with the police. Crews would rush out in search of charred remnants of the massacre, get the picture, then disappear quickly to avoid detection by martial law forces. Enraged crowds gawked at the vehicular carnage and directed us to the most dramatic scenes. They also acted as lookouts, alerting us if police were spotted nearby. We did stories on the visceral fury that inflamed the streets. We covered the evacuation of foreigners. We investigated elusive rumors that Chinese armies were preparing to face off against each other in a civil war. But the pictures that had provided one of the most dramatic stories in television news history were melting away. The story had moved inside, behind impenetrable walls, where a power struggle over the nation's leadership was taking place.

Our big cameras, earlier our passport to the public, now betrayed our attempted anonymity. So we received small, hand-held cameras that required no sound person and could be easily hidden. We used cars with tinted windows and, very slowly, drove by troops unobserved. Once, while Chinese troops surrounded and terrorized Jianguomenwai, the foreign diplomatic compound, ABC Coordinating Producer Mark Nelson hid the camera in his shirt sleeve and shot the action while sitting in his car. In addition, our Chinese drivers were increasingly reluctant to venture out.

As of May 20, when martial law was declared, our satellite transmitting capabilities were cut off. This meant that once the tapes arrived from the field we would put the best footage on what are called clip reels and send them to Hong Kong or Tokyo, where we could transmit the pictures home. To get the tapes there, we relied on "pigeons," Westerners at the airport who would agree to carry the tapes aboard and hand them off to an ABC

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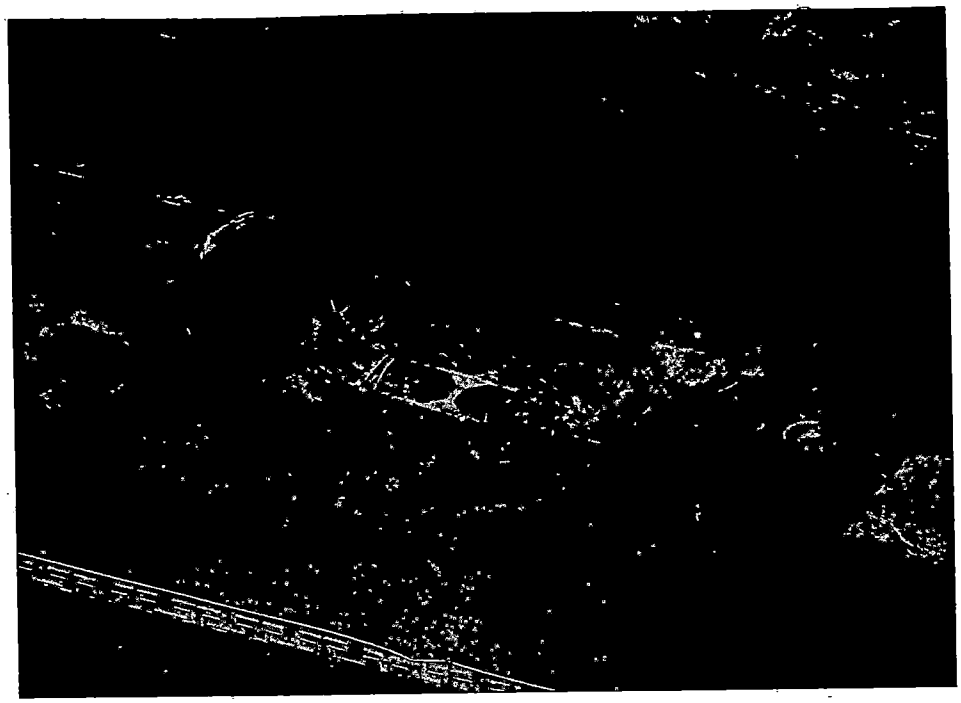
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employee after landing. Once the pictures reached New York, a producer and a correspondent in Beijing would work by phone with a New York producer to cut the spot. When necessary, especially for the morning news shows, which couldn't get much fresh video in time, we used a new machine that sent still shots taken from our videotape.

ABC News immediately moved to scramble its satellite signal and obscured the faces of Chinese citizens who would talk to us. But, understandably, fewer and fewer would, and we feared putting anyone in jeopardy. Those who were willing to talk were cautious. One man agreed to talk to ABC's Jackie Judd about his wife, who had been killed on the night of the massacre. But once on camera, even with his face concealed, he said his wife was partly to blame for her death because she had been walking the streets in violation of martial law.



FORREST ANDERSON/GAMMA LIAISON

What was left behind: vehicles burned by protesters.

Against this backdrop came China's Big Lie: No one died in Tiananmen Square. These had not been peaceful demonstrations for democracy and free speech. Rather, a small band of conspirators had whipped up students' passions and created a counterrevolutionary riot aimed at "overturning the leadership of the Communist Party" by seizing power in a "Bastille-style attack." The army's heavy losses in the face of "savage provocations" were "eloquent testimony to their restraint and tolerance." Nearly 100 soldiers died, official reports stated, as did some 100 civilians.

But not even the government's plague of lies prepared us for its willingness to use American television as an instrument of repression. During the week after the massacre, Chinese television showed tape of a man, accusing him of being a rumormonger and urging that citizens turn him in. It was ABC's tape. Correspondent Jim Laurie had conducted the interview, but only a few seconds had appeared on ABC. About 90 seconds appeared on Chinese TV, suggesting that the Chinese had pirated the image as it was being transmitted via satellite. The man, Xiao Bin, had told ABC that he saw Chinese troops shoot down civilians and run over them with tanks. The next day Chinese TV said Xiao had been turned in by two women and arrested within an hour of the broadcast in the northeast city of Dalian. (In July he was convicted of "propagating counterrevolutionary lies" and sentenced to 10 years in prison.)

The Big Lie could be perniciously effective. After watching the latest of the government's countless claims that there was no massacre, I remarked to an ABC engineer, "Do they really expect people to believe this?" He smiled and answered, "Haven't you once, even for the briefest of moments, doubted it yourself?" If he could have even a moment of doubt, imagine the dilemma faced by people in China's remote provinces.

Eventually the government story line became: "Beijing is returning to normal." With the Chinese media compressed back into conformity, activists under arrest or on the run and vast Tiananmen Square again silent, this account had a visible element of accuracy. But beneath the forced tranquility the public was seething. A measure of that anger was revealed in graffiti scrawled on a wall near a government-sanctioned memorial for a soldier who had died during the slaughter. The words were written in English so we could understand and the martial law forces could not: "All These Things Are to be Answered For." ●

A Teacher's Story

Chinese Journalists Cover (And Join) The Revolution

By Michael J. Berlin

For a fleeting and heady moment this spring, China experienced a free press for the first time in its long history. Then, with the June 4 massacre on the streets of Beijing, the outpouring of what the student posters called "the true facts" was cut off once again.

Yet the brief phenomenon has left an indelible mark in the minds of the Chinese people, who live in a country where the impact of the media, representing an omnipotent state and party, is far more pervasive than in the West. For 40 years the Chinese people anticipated news that defined what was officially sanctioned, not necessarily what was true. The students mounted their original protests last spring without initial media support. So for many Chinese, perhaps most, what legitimized the demonstrators' slogans was that for a few weeks the state-owned newspapers, radio and television reported student actions and views in neutral and even positive terms.

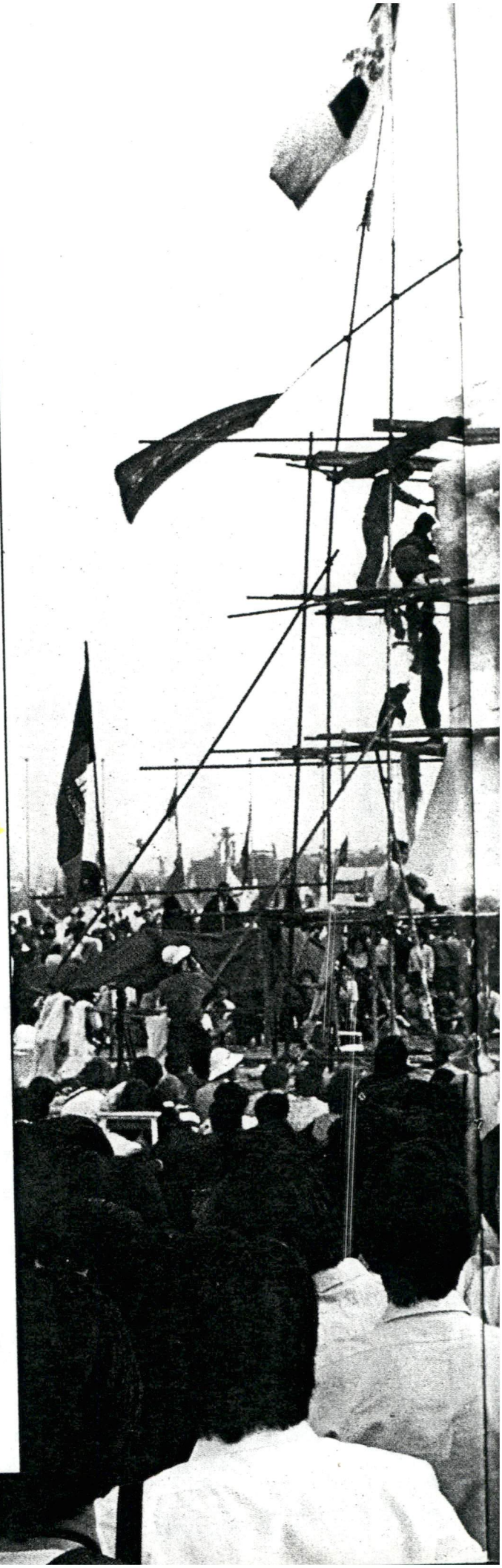
When I arrived in China in August 1988 to teach journalism at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the China School of Journalism—schools that train reporters and editors for the Xinhua News Agency and the English-language *China Daily*—I found the media far more feisty than I had expected. Almost daily there were Op-Ed articles on the rampant inflation, the failure to fund education, the need for freedom in the arts. Investigative pieces exposed official corruption, though rarely at higher than the provincial level. I remember being amazed to see a Chinese-television reporter, mike in hand, standing outside the private home that a provincial official had allegedly built with government funds and trying to question a family member about the allegation as he emerged, stunned and enraged by the live report. Most Chinese reporters I met took pride in the fact that they were actively, if gingerly, pushing at the frontiers of press freedom.

The stories the media could not report still far exceeded in number those they could. In particular, stories on controversial subjects such as Cambodia, rioting in Tibet or protests against African students in Nanjing, and even the casualty toll from an earthquake in Yunnan province, were subject to rigid censorship by party ideologists.

Chinese journalists' participation as actors, as well as reporters, heightened the Chinese media's impact on the events triggered by the death of former party leader Hu Yaobang on April 15. Eleven days later an editor, Qin Benli, became the first prominent martyr in the quest for democracy when he was removed from the helm of Shanghai's maverick

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Michael J. Berlin, who spent 20 years covering the United Nations for the New York Post *and the* Washington Post, *went to China in August 1988 as a Fulbright lecturer to teach journalism at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the China School of Journalism.*



ERIC BOUVET/GAMMA LIAISON

weekly, the *World Economic Herald*. Qin had published articles defending Hu's liberal record and criticizing those who purged him in 1987. His newspaper was sponsored by the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences rather than the Communist Party, and it was supported by advertising and sales revenues, with a minimal subsidy. Thus the *Herald* was virtually alone among Chinese publications in its freedom to publish dissenting views on a wide range of issues.

On May 4 several hundred Beijing reporters were the first workers to openly join the students in marching. They were protesting the party's ouster of Qin and its initial ban on any media references to the critical nature of the campus demonstrations.

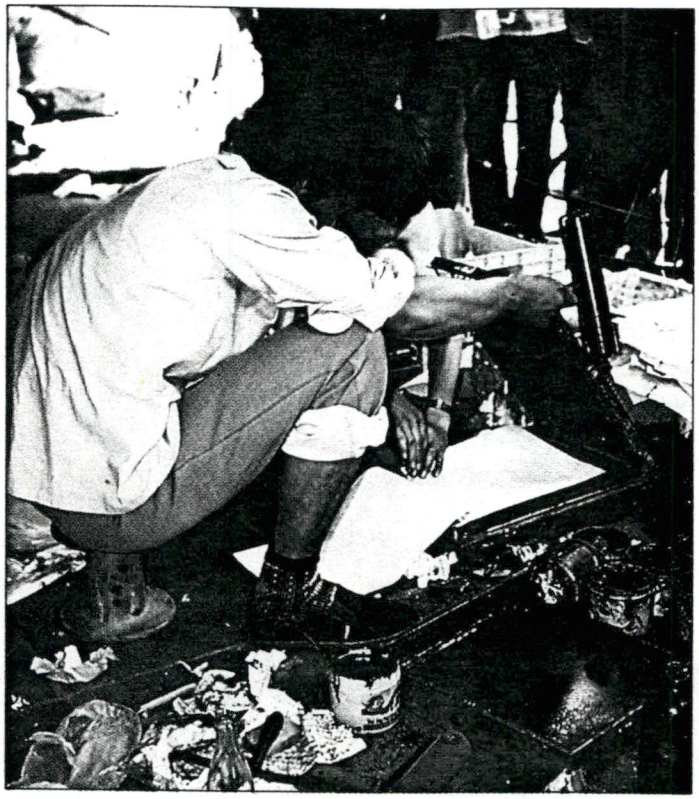
Two days later the head of the government's propaganda department called in editors and told them they had Communist Party approval to report on demonstrations in a factual, balanced fashion.

For the next two weeks, an entire profession trained only to promote the party line demonstrated that it had the will and the skill to produce accurate and compelling reportage.

Some of the stories went to the opposite extreme of giving short shrift to the official line and distorting actions and statements to make the students look better. This was not simply because the reporters shared the students' objectives. Chinese culture places less value on the concept of press objectivity than does Western society. "Press freedom," said one of my students, "means I can write my ideas instead of the government's ideas."

The party sought to lower the window of freedom on May 20 when it imposed martial law. Even then, some leaks occurred. The window was only sealed after the bloody repression of June 4, leaving constraints on the press far harsher than those before the first march.

When Hu Yaobang died it seemed to me quite normal for the official media to limit the extent of their coverage, to omit the anti-government aspect of the initial student demonstrations. Stories quoted only the blandest of the students' big-character posters (*dazibao*) and implied that their marches were sanctioned, pious mourning. Other stories reported that a mob had tried to break into Zhongnanhai, the compound where China's party leaders live and work, "disturbing the peace" and injuring four guards. What was not printed was the story that two of my students from the China School of Journalism, who had spent the night on the fringe of the crowd, reported back to me: The protesters were largely students, who chanted "Down With Deng Xiaoping!" and "Down With the Communist Party!" and were bloodied by security guards armed with clubs. One of my students came back with a lump on his head. The news organizations were silent about the anti-government *dazibao* that I saw on at least three campuses, emblazoned with such slogans as: "A Man Who Should Not Die, Dies; Those Who Should Die, Live."



PETER HERSH/TIME MAGAZINE

Students publish protests from an ad hoc print shop.

These stories, however, struck me as no more distorted than other politically sensitive copy. So I was surprised by the degree of outrage and general disdain for Chinese news organizations expressed both by my students and by reporters whose stories had been spiked or politically bowdlerized. The media's failure to tell the truth backfired. It transformed the protest movement and turned press freedom into one of its prime goals.

On April 21, a day after the battle at Zhongnanhai, I made my first trip to Tiananmen Square as my students presented a memorial wreath (I had chipped in 10 yuan—about $1.50) for Hu Yaobang at the adjacent Great Hall of the People. I had been puzzled at the uproar over Hu's death since I hadn't heard his name mentioned during the eight months I'd been in China. Over lunch in our mess hall earlier that week, some students and faculty members explained that Hu was ousted as party chief in 1987 for failing to crack down on student demonstrations the previous year. Even more important, however, was his reputation as the only one among the senior leaders who lived simply—on an ordinary street rather than in a Zhongnanhai villa—and whose children had not acquired special status or wealth through nepotism and corruption.

Throughout the demonstrations I biked or walked alongside or around the marchers, not with them. Apart from not wishing to give the impression that the protests were generated by foreigners, I felt that China's government and problems were for the Chinese to solve. In conversation I avoided advocating a course of action, but I unavoidably evinced my pride in my students' courage, patriotism and dedication to press freedom. I was also unable to hold back such parental advice as "Drink fluids . . . . Take a sweater . . . . Be careful." And what I write now is more vague and less often attributed than I'd like it to be because I want to protect both students and friends from possible reprisals.

I was filled with emotion when I saw them march around Tiananmen Square that Friday, winning cheers from about 10,000 onlookers with their banners that said, in English, "We Need Facts" and, in Chinese, "Important Matters Should be Made Public," which paraphrased a pronouncement of the 13th Party Congress.

On the campus of Beijing University I saw a cartoon-poster that was far more vitriolic and grimly prescient. It depicted Fidel Castro telling Napoleon Bonaparte, "If you had the PLA [People's Liberation Army], you wouldn't have lost Waterloo," and Bonaparte replying, "If I'd had Xinhua and CCTV [Central China Television], no one would have known I lost."

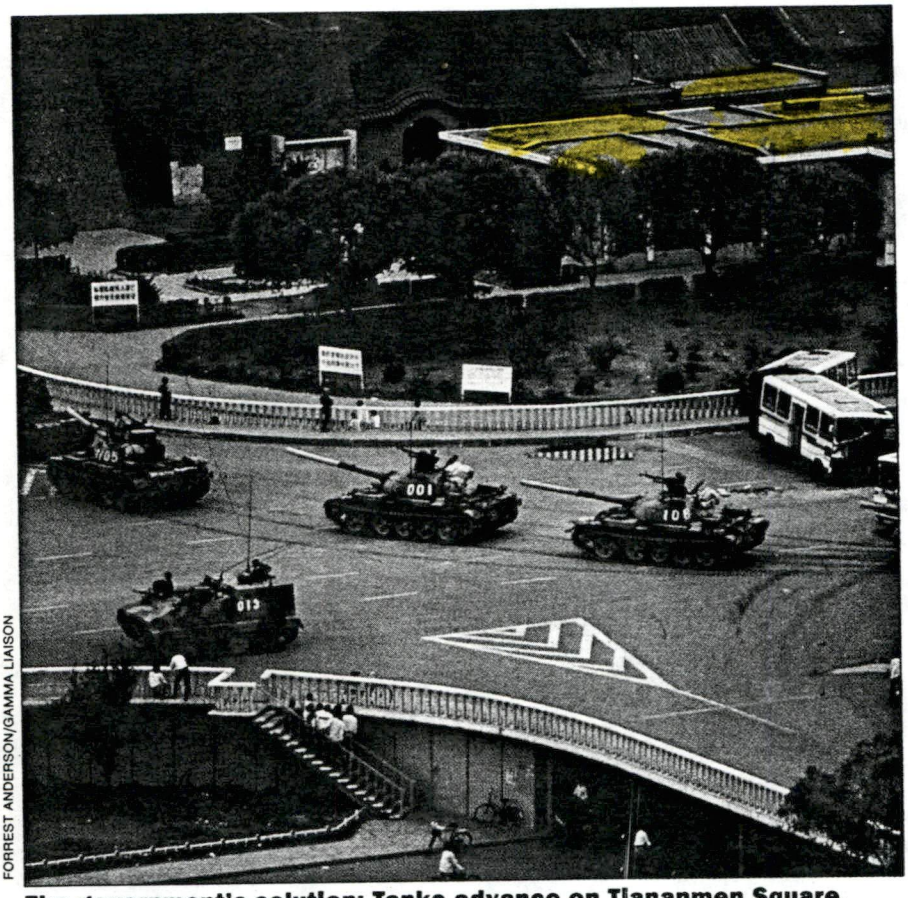
But a few news organizations began to challenge a party edict banning any articles, recordings or images of student protests. The *Science and Technology Daily*, which is small but nationally circulated, printed a factual account, with pictures, of the student rally on Tiananmen Square. In the following days, balanced articles appeared in *Workers' Daily*, *Peasants' Daily* and *Beijing Youth News*.

In the evenings, when my wife and I visited the *dazibao* walls of Beijing University and People's University, tear sheets from these newspapers had been pasted up alongside the slogans and were read avidly, despite the failing light, by large numbers of workers who wandered onto the campuses after dinner. *Dazibao* had originated as the Chinese equivalent of alternative media, and readers passed them on by noting them down verbatim, reading them into tape recorders or photographing them.

The party's use of the media to reshape

reality for public consumption was breaking down for the first time. Eyewitness accounts of the protests spread from campus to campus and city to city, via the grapevine, the *dazibao*, handbills that the students had mimeographed and short-wave radios, which enabled many in the provinces to listen to the Voice of America and the BBC.

On April 25 and 26 the government made one last attempt to use the media as a mechanism for control. Radio, television, Xinhua and *People's Daily*, the party newspaper, joined forces to spotlight the party's harsh warning that an "extremely small number of people" were out to "plunge the whole country into chaos and sabotage the political situation of stability and unity." This commentary angered students and set off demands that the party recognize them as patriots, rather than troublemakers. In the days that followed, I learned from an insider that young reporters at *People's Daily* were protesting the party editorial through *dazibao* posted in the newspaper's corridors and had joined with activists from other news organizations to protest the firing of Qin Benli.



FORREST ANDERSON/GAMMA LIAISON

The government's solution: Tanks advance on Tiananmen Square.

On May 4 (the 70th anniversary of a pro-democracy movement of an earlier era) I biked down to Tiananmen, bringing rolls and containers of fruit drinks for my sweltering students. I watched as journalists joined the marchers, chanting "Press Freedom Makes the State Stable" and "We Would Like to Tell the Truth!" The press in general gave the student rally unprecedented coverage, running pictures and quoting banners and slogans. CCTV broadcast footage of the marching reporters. By including slogans critical of the government, noting that the march was peaceful and reporting demonstrations in other cities, Xinhua signaled to the rest of the media that they should use an evenhanded tone.

Five days later 1,013 Beijing journalists signed a petition that called for a dialogue with party propaganda officials and demanded three things: the reinstatement of Qin Benli, an apology for earlier restrictions on coverage of the demonstrations and a guarantee of press freedom.

The high point of press freedom in China was reached the following week, when the student hunger strike on Tiananmen Square disrupted the Sino-Soviet summit. The official media gave equal coverage to the protests and the summit. The hunger strikers received great sympathy. *Science and Technology Daily* called them "good children of the people."

A Xinhua lead on May 17 read, "As many as a million people of all walks of life in Beijing have joined the demonstration at Tiananmen Square today to support those students from Beijing's institutes of higher learning who have been staging a hunger strike." The report went on to list the slogans, among them, "Students' Movement Doesn't Mean Unrest"; it also spelled out the students' demands for dialogue with government officials. National radio praised the students' "very cool and sensible attitude toward large-scale activities . . . . They urged the people who showed support to safeguard the normal social order and avoid chaos."

When martial law was declared on May 20, the return to a controlled press was gradual. *People's Daily*, in particular, flaunted its indirect criticism of the government and sympathy with the students in its layout: a Page One picture of Zhao Ziyang crying as he met the hunger strikers. It also carried front-page stories criticizing martial law in Poland and quoting a Hungarian official's denunciation of Stalin for killing his own people. It reported on May 21 that "social order is the same as before" and that "hundreds of thousands of college students were still conducting a *peaceful* sit-in" at the square while "residents of the municipality" surrounded them. When the crackdown finally came, it hit *People's Daily* the hardest. A propaganda official and an army officer replaced the two top editors and several reporters were arrested.

The staff of Xinhua staged a slowdown, putting only five stories on the wire on May 21. Two days later 2,000 Xinhua staffers, including students and faculty from my schools, joined a massive and joyous citywide march by millions of Beijingers. I rode beside them as they marched along the city's inner ring road. They were fed iced tea by old women and cheered by 2-year-olds from a nursery school who were sitting on a curb in the shade and waving little paper flags that read, "Democracy." It was, I realized later, the first time I had seen crowds of Chinese citizens on the streets with smiles on their faces and individuals offering help to total strangers. This incident shattered another Western misconception about the Chinese: that they don't show emotion. They do. That the myth of a stone-faced people has lasted this long is due, in part, to a simple fact: For generations they have had little to smile about. In China, even the act of standing and looking is a political statement. I was watching an entire city stand up to be counted. That night Xinhua's lead story reported that the "overwhelming majority of the crowd called for the resignation of the chief leader of the State Council," mentioning Premier Li Peng by name only in a later paragraph.

In the final days before the massacre, troops occupied the major news organizations and the party tightened its control. A media chorus praised the troops, reported on pro-martial law rallies and criticized the "turmoil" as well as the final student gesture, the "Goddess of Democracy" statue erected in Tiananmen.

My family and I learned of the massacre from the Voice of America and the heart-wrenching accounts of friends who survived it. We also learned on the morning of June 4 that a 28-year-old senior at the China

School of Journalism, Zhao Hai-shun, had been killed just before midnight on Changan Avenue. He was shot in the face while taking pictures from the sidewalk. The school director, Zhou Li-fang, told me that at the hospital emergency room Zhao told an orderly, "I got some very good shots," and then he died. Xinhua decided that Zhao had been an innocent victim, hit by a "stray bullet." The agency provided his family with a funeral ceremony and contributed several thousand yuan toward an education fund that his classmates launched for his 9-month-old son.

As I prepared to leave China in mid-July, some of my students were still "studying" the June 9 speech of Deng Xiaoping, which lays out the rationale of repression. In order to graduate to jobs as junior editors at Xinhua, they each had to write an essay explaining how the speech had reformed their ideas as well as a diary of what they had done each day from May 20 through mid-June. It seemed intellectually humiliating to me, and the diary was ominous. But they all said it was "no problem."

I left my journalist friends publicly compliant, privately defiant. They were at study sessions too, realizing that they might face years of tight party control over what they wrote. One young editor spoke of breaking out in a sweat as he translated a dispatch in which a communist country supported the actions of the Beijing government. He feared that one slip in rhetoric might expose him to accusations of sabotage. "During the cultural revolution, people were executed for less," he said.

After I left there were reports in the Western press that a number of journalists had been arrested without public announcements. The word was that many were under investigation and more arrests or dismissals were expected.

The journalistic product that emerged after the massacre, however forced, was relentless. Day after day it pounded the public with the myth that there had been no massacre, that foreign media accounts were intended to undermine the socialist system and force capitalism on the Chinese people. The stories were quite well-written and argued with some sophistication. The TV footage of citizens attacking soldiers was compelling—unless, of course, viewers knew that these scenes had taken place, for the most part, after military attacks on unarmed crowds of civilians.

Was the government's story believed? Certainly the people of Beijing were aware of the truth. Despite the danger of talking with an American in public, several initiated conversations with me, asking whether people abroad knew the truth, warning that the official version was a lie. Almost certainly the sophisticated students and elites of other large cities, who listen to the VOA and the BBC in Chinese, were uneasy. (I was told by a student that in one small town in Hunan province seven out of 10 people listen to the VOA on transistor radios that cost about $30—an item that the economic reform has brought within the reach of most Chinese families.)

This student, not one of mine, who had gone home and returned to the capital, told me she could not spread the word as she had hoped because the campaign to turn in "rumormongers" limited her frankness to family and a few close friends. It was hard for the victims themselves to believe that the army had fired at them. A woman who had been at the site of the bloodiest massacre, at Muxidi bridge, said one day afterward, "We could not believe the soldiers were firing live bullets at us until we looked down and saw the blood. It is still hard for me to believe it today."

Other avenues for spreading the word were being closed off. Imports of foreign newspapers and magazines were restricted. Guards were posted at fax machines to curb the flow of electronic *dazibao* from Chinese who were overseas. A popular CCTV announcer disappeared after she wore black the day after the massacre. There was no longer an English-language nightly news show. *People's Daily* and the English-language *China Daily*, which had each been cut to four pages and were running only Xinhua wire copy and official statements, returned to their normal eight pages in early July, but there was no spark left.

Other newspapers were moving even further backward in tone, beyond official party statements to the Cold War rhetoric of "running dogs," "class struggle" and "paper tigers." On the plane out of China, CNN Bureau Chief Mike Chinoy, who was taking a vacation stateside, said he suspected that some newspapers were under the control of the extreme hard-liners who wanted to roll back economic reform as well as clamp down politically. The media were once again tools in the unending factional struggle within the leadership.

Will a free press rise again in China? I don't pretend to be an expert analyst of Chinese political processes. I know there are thousands of reporters and editors, now hunkering down, who remain determined to push for every inch they can get, and a few who will take some chances. I suspect that the breadth of the public's dissatisfaction with the government will sooner or later encourage some insiders to tap into that liberalizing vein as a path toward power. And those Chinese journalists, students and professionals who seized their brief opportunity for press freedom last spring will be ready to encourage any future movement toward the liberating world of "true facts." ●

"Remember 3 June, 1989"

After the massacre some of us in the foreign experts' compound, the Friendship Hotel, had biked down to the main street after dawn and had seen the line of burned-out armored personnel carriers and trucks, the bloody sidewalks, the empty cartridge casings. We had heard the BBC bulletins. At noon we turned on Radio Beijing's English service, curious to hear what propaganda was being dished out. What we got, however, was this heart-rending elegy for a nation's shattered dreams :

"Remember 3 June, 1989. A most tragic event happened in the Chinese capital, Beijing. Thousands of people, most of them innocent civilians, were killed by fully armed soldiers when they forced their way into the city. Among the killed are our colleagues at Radio Beijing.

"The soldiers were riding on armored vehicles and used machine guns against thousands of local residents and students who tried to block their way. When the army convoys made a breakthrough, soldiers continued to spray their bullets indiscriminately at crowds in the street. Eyewitnesses say some armored vehicles even crushed foot soldiers who hesitated in the front of the resisting civilians.

"Radio Beijing English Department deeply mourns those [who] died in the tragic incident and appeals to all its listeners to join our protest for the gross violation of human rights and the most barbarous suppression of the people.

"Because of the abnormal situation here in Beijing, there is no other news we could bring you. We sincerely ask for your understanding and thank you for joining us at this most tragic moment."

A Hong Kong newspaper identified the broadcaster as Li Dan and called him the "bravest reporter in contemporary China."

The last I heard was that Li, the writer and the producer of that program were still at the station but were—like a number of other journalists—"under investigation" and fearful of eventual arrest, or at least loss of their jobs.

M. J. B.

WASHINGTON JOURNALISM REVIEW NOVEMBER 1989 $2.95

WJR

Three Glitzy Editors: Brits of Conde Nast

The Attorney General Stonewalls The Press

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Colombian Journalists Under Siege

A faint rumble, a jingle of broken glass, the whine of sirens—the sounds of another bomb greeting the dawn in Medellin and a kind of wake-up call for Nestor Castano. Within 15 minutes of the 5 a.m. blast, Castano, a cameraman for Colombian Television, was hoisting a scratched and dented video camera on his shoulder and documenting the cocaine cartel's fresh path of distruction. As he walked through the rubble of a bombed-out bank in the burnt-orange haze of sunrise, Castano had a .38 caliber revolver tucked into his battery-pack belt.

"I keep it with me," he said, shifting gears on his old, blue jeep and whipping through the narrow streets of Medellin to the next bomb site. "I guess a pistol wouldn't be much help if they plant a bomb," he said, "but it makes me feel better."

Journalists in Colombia are on the front line of the war between the powerful cocaine cartels and the U.S.-backed Colombian government. Newspaper plants and radio and television stations look like armed camps: razor-wire lines the 15-foot concrete walls that protect the *El Colombiano* newspaper in Medellin and military guards train Mac 10 machine guns on visitors at the front gate of Caricol, the national radio station in the capitol of Bogota.

According to the estimates of editors, reporters and police officials, at least 33 Colombian journalists have been killed and dozens of others forced into exile by death threats in the last five years because of their work in exposing the cartels. On October 10, two employees of Colombia's leading newspaper, *El Espectador*, were killed by gunmen on motorcycles. A few hours later, the director of the *Cronista Democratica* magazine was killed. Earlier, on September 2, a 220-pound bomb planted in a parked pickup truck ripped through the main offices and printing facility of *El Espectador*, injuring more than 70 people. The blast nearly destroyed the plant, causing major structural damage, shattering windows and ripping through files. The paper's computer and phone systems, as well as some 1,200 tons of stored newsprint, were left unusable.

But the day after the blast, a scaled-down edition of the paper, put out with the help of a competing newspaper's printing facilities, proclaimed in a bold, front-page headline, "We Will Continue."

Three years ago, *El Espectador*'s editor, Guillermo Cano, and the paper's lawyer, were gunned down on the street by "sicarios,"—the cartel's assassins famous for doing their work from the back of a speeding motorcycle. The murdered editor's brother and now the paper's publisher, Luis Gabriel Cano Isaza, vows to continue the fight. "It is a decisive moment in our history. It is a time to be united," he said. "We cannot back down."

But as the war escalates, the courage of Colombian journalists is put to the test. Nearly all the stories—from hard-hitting investigations of the cartel to simple news items on the death toll—are written without bylines. Television reporters, who cannot hide behind anonymity, have armed guards and bullet-proofed cars. Last month, *El Colombiano*, Medellin's local paper, and Caricol both had sticks of dynamite without detonators planted in a box of cookies on a desk in the newsroom. A hand-written note in the box at *El Colombiano* read: "This time it wasn't real, be careful," remembered Luis, a reporter on the paper who asked that his last name not be used.

"I write about one-tenth of what I know," said Luis. "If you write the complete truth, you wake up dead."

The foreign press corp has not been immune to the terrorist tactics of the cartel. On September 3, at the Hotel Intercontinental in Medellin, temporary home to most of the foreign reporters sent to cover the epicenter of the cartel's violence, two men roared by on a motorcycle and tossed a bomb into the flower garden by the swimming pool: No one killed, no injuries, no major destruction—just a message. Two days later, the message was not as subtle. Two reporters for the Miami-based Spanish language network Univision were seriously injured when a bomb exploded at a restaurant in Medellin.

Reporter Bernadette Pardo and cameraman Carlos Ignacio Corrales had been sent to Medellin to do a series on the escalating violence and to file daily updates of the wave of bombings in the city. At about 9 p.m. on September 5, Pardo said, they were eating dinner with a Colombian freelance producer who was working for them. The only other customers, an unidentified couple believed to be cartel-hired terrorists, got up to leave the restaurant and began running after they got out the door. Moments later a bomb exploded. In a phone interview from her home, Pardo, whose family lives in Colombia and whose father is a former congressman from Cali, described her injuries: two broken vertebrae, a fractured shoulder, more than 50 stitches and severed tendons in her right arm.

"We got caught in the middle. It was clearly a message against the American press," she said. "But the truth is, most American reporters go to Colombia to cover what's happening and then we just pack up and leave. I have a lot of respect for Colombian journalists who are there protecting the dignity of the country, protecting truth—and dying for it."

Charles Sennott

Gabriel Cano: We Will Continue

The Medellin, Colombia newspaper, *El Espectador*, has conducted a long-running crusade against the country's drug lords. In October two employees were killed by motorcycle gunmen. In September the paper's offices were bombed, causing $2.5 million in damages. Advertisers have been threatened. Luis Gabriel Cano Isaza, the 66 year-old president of the newspaper, was in the United States in October hoping to find U.S. support for his paper's operations. A number of U.S. newspapers, including the *Washington Post*, *Miami Herald*, and *New York Times*, have placed ads in *El Espectador* to demonstrate their moral and economic support. This is a portion of what Cano told *WJR* in a telephone interview:

Have the threats had an affect on the press?

Not in our case. There are some other media that have decided to tell less.

Will it be possible to hold out?

We will continue with our same policies. The only thing they have stopped is the economical part. I have come here to visit with our suppliers of newsprint and our suppliers of equipment and our colleagues, to ask for economic support. They have been very receptive. I am sure they will help us to continue. We have no insurance since the bombing. The amount of money necessary to continue is a little more than $2.5 million. We have not the assets to do that. Our assets are in the newspaper.

What about you, personally. Have you received threats? Are you in danger?

We receive threats. I have to have guards on my way to work and coming home. I always have five guards behind me. Always the army and the police are trying to put some security to our press and our people.

How can people here help you?

We have presented our problem. They are studying how to help. We are looking for long term credits (from suppliers).

ter the raids, a group of twelve
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met secretly with a group of San-

dinistas in an effort to get to know them better and perhaps develop a common strategy with UDEL. Others tried to use the vitality injected in the anti-Somoza movement to begin a dialogue with Somoza on the question of a peaceful transition. A committee was established, composed of Archbishop Obando and Monsignor Pablo Vega from the Church, Alfonso Robelo and Felix Esteban Guardicki from the private sector, and Francisco Fiallos, a lawyer. With U.S. encouragement, Somoza agreed to meet with them in December 1977, but they found Somoza "completely stubborn" in his insistence that he finish out his term ending in 1981. They tried to persuade Somoza to begin a national dialogue on a transition before 1981, but he was unmoved.[30]

The Death of Chamorro

On January 9, 1978, in the Iranian city of Qom, the Shah's police opened fire on a demonstration, and the Iranian "revolution had begun."[31] The very next day, on the other side of the globe, the undisputed leader of the Nicaraguan opposition, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, was assassinated, and another revolution had really begun. More than any other individual in Nicaragua, Chamorro, the descendant of three Nicaraguan Presidents, represented the moderate opposition. His death energized the nation and had a profound effect on Nicaragua's neighbors.

His son, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Barrios, is convinced that Somoza was not responsible for the assassination,[32] but practically no one in Nicaragua believed that at the time. Thousands marched in the funeral procession, and the businessmen decided that the time had come to split decisively with Somoza. Alfonso Robelo, the president of the major business association in Nicaragua (COSEP), directed and organized a general strike from January 23 until the second week in February. It was 90 percent successful. For the first time, businessmen, as an organized and cohesive political group, issued a public demand for Somoza's resignation. If the earthquake was a watershed in the private sector's view of the venality of the Somoza dynasty, the killing of Chamorro was the catalyst that moved the private sector toward political action.

Chamorro's death also had a profound effect on his close friend, Carlos Andrés Pérez, the President of Venezuela. After Pérez took office in 1975, Chamorro, who had been in exile in Costa Rica with Pérez in the 1950s, visited and told him excitedly: "Carlos Andrés, look, now you can do something for my country." Pérez responded

$24.95 U.S.

much as the United States would have done: "Pedro Joaquín, you are the one who has to do it, and if you do it, I will support it." Pérez did give him moral and political support, but the death of Chamorro "made me compromise my previous position." He began to play a more direct and active role.[33]

Pérez's Presidency (1974-79) coincided with the sudden rise in the price of oil, which provided a windfall for Venezuela and gave Pérez the resources to assert leadership internationally. In December 1974, he launched a program to provide aid and oil at subsidized prices for most of the countries of Central America and the Caribbean. With aid came influence, and Pérez, the quintessential activist, used it. A strong advocate of human rights and arms control in Latin America, Pérez was delighted by the election of Carter, whom he viewed as dedicated to the same goals. For the first time since his mentor Rómulo Betancourt had established a relationship with John F. Kennedy, Venezuela's President seemed positioned to establish a new cooperative relationship with a U.S. President. And just as Betancourt was obsessed with eliminating Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo, Pérez had a similar preoccupation with Somoza.

Venezuela, unlike Nicaragua, was relatively high on the Carter Administration's list of priorities, and Pérez was the first South American President invited for a state visit. In late June 1977, Carter met with Pérez for two days of meetings that covered almost every important international issue—human rights, arms control, North–South relations, energy and OPEC, the Middle East (Venezuela's OPEC membership offered it a window for following the Arab-Israeli conflict), Cuba, Zimbabwe, and the Caribbean. No other Latin American President discussed as extensive an agenda with Carter. By the time the two met again in September 1977 after the signing of the Panama Canal treaties, Carter would refer to Pérez as "one of my best personal friends and a great counselor and adviser to me on matters that concern the nations of the Caribbean and Central and South America."[34] Pérez and Carter covered a wide agenda again and agreed to coordinate strategies on a number of issues, but in neither June nor September did they talk about Nicaragua.

Their first exchange on the subject occurred when Pérez sent Carter a letter on January 31, 1978. Pérez had just consulted with Omar Torrijos and Daniel Oduber on a joint strategy to overthrow Somoza, though he did not mention that in the letter. Instead, he described the situation in Nicaragua in dire terms and proposed joint action. Pérez gave the letter personally to the U.S. Ambassador, Viron Peter Vaky, in order to convey the importance he attached to

receiving a quick response from Ca
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Africa.

The First Policy Review

By January 1978, virtually all of
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N.Y.TIMES:03-04-90

The Chamorro Saga Began Long Ago, When Life Was Peaceful and Prosperous

By ARTURO CRUZ Jr.

IN his moment of defeat after the election last week, President Daniel Ortega Saavedra of Nicaragua gave a concession speech. Then he went to the house of Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, almost like a neighbor in distress coming to seek solace. "Come in, my little father, because I love you," the handsome woman was quoted as telling the man she had just defeated in the race for president.

A curious scene, given the decade's rages. To understand it you have to understand who the Chamorros are and who the Ortegas are and that Nicaragua's history is largely a history of families.

Doña Violeta, as the new President-elect is known, is rightly described as an aristocrat. But aristocracy does not mean the same thing in Nicaragua as in other Latin countries. Doña Violeta is closer to the people than her skeptics would like to believe. She is a devout Catholic. She keeps alive the memory of her murdered husband. In fact, she talks to her late husband every night.

The voters related to her campaign style more readily than to the Madison Avenue techniques of Daniel Ortega, whose international notoriety made him less appealing to many Nicaraguans than to the Hollywood crowd. (The man he helped to overthrow in 1979, Anastasio Somoza Debayle, liked to be recognized among foreigners, too, but his orientation was East Coast — West Point, to be precise.)

When the Nicaraguans chose Mrs. Chamorro, they were choosing a symbol of their country. But it is necessary to start at the beginning.

In the days of Spanish colonization in the early 1800's, Nicaragua was a forgotten province, rich in land and with relatively few people. From time to time a boat would put in at the mouth of the San Juan River on the Atlantic coast. This river linked the port to the Great Lake, on the shores of which sat (and still sits) Granada, home of the Chamorro family.

The boat came bearing liquor from Peru, guitar strings, and news of the world. Granada had two or three "commercial" families who dealt in contraband. The other great clans raised cattle. The Chamorros were among them, hard-working folk of rustic habits, possessing land but little cash. At great sacrifice they sent one of their own, Pedro José Chamorro, to study in far-off Guatemala. There, he had a son with an Indian woman.

With independence in 1821 came the first civil war. Don Pedro sought refuge in Managua, where he died. His widow had to take the charity of her late husband's illegitimate son, who was summoned from Guatemala to run the family business.

In one of those mythic twists of Nicaraguan history, José Fruto Chamorro, a mixture of dispossessed Indian and white landowner, founded a dynasty and became the first Chamorro to become president. For Don Fruto, the country was like a family: it needed a firm but affectionate father. Perhaps he lacked brilliance, but no one doubted his character. Nicaraguans say that if he had been alive when William Walker arrived in the 1850's, the American adventurer would never have seized temporary control of Nicaragua.

The country enjoyed 30 years of peace in the second half of the 19th century. Many who governed were relatives of Don Fruto, and Nicaragua saw the advent of railroads, telegraphs and good roads. Schools were built and coffee was introduced. All this without a buildup of foreign debt and without a political life disfigured by violence and corruption. The country lived in splendid isolation from the revolutions that swept other Central American lands.



Sygma/Jason Bleibtreu

Young couple: Violeta Barrios de Chamorro with her husband, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Cardenal.

Time of the Upstarts

The aristocracy was never wealthy enough to indulge in a life of luxury. The landowners seemed almost small tradesmen compared with their counterparts in El Salvador and Guatemala, who grew wealthy on coffee, and indolent and arrogant by exploiting the abundant and docile labor force. With time the Chamorros became an aristocratic family, but from the beginning they could not deny their partly Indian origins, and they slept in hammocks and ate the same diet of tortillas, rice and beans as their workers. It was only later that such people learned more refined habits, after the arrival of French and Italian immigrants.

Then came the Liberal Revolution in the early 1900's, and a challenge to the landed aristocracy by the new families like the Somozas and the Ortegas. The upstarts' victory meant an end to republican institutions. The times turned against Don Fruto's relatives; they suffered exile, imprisonment and economic ruin. (Two Chamorros led the country for a time: a pompous intellectual and a caudillo whose courage in facing bullets was legendary.)

In the 20th century the Chamorros would be out of power more often than in — whether the triumphant adversary was named Zelaya, Somoza or Ortega. There was a certain repetition. Every new family that seized power set about reorganizing the state, establishing its own bureaucracy, widening the circle of new rich, refounding the army, putting warships on both coasts. Each new clan sought to draw legitimacy and self-esteem from its recognition by foreigners and, in the case of the Somozas, from the accumulation of wealth.

An aristocratic family that slept in hammocks.

The most notable Chamorro of this century was Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Cardenal: proud of his heritage, a man of character, heir to the newspaper La Prensa, which was founded by his father. His quarrel with the Somozas led Don Pedro Joaquín to admire Sandino, and to pay for his opinions with jail, exile and eventually his life. It led him to travel to Cuba to ask Fidel Castro for the means to set up his own guerrilla army. Later, in the early 70's, he went to Chile during the rule of Salvador Allende Gossens, whence he returned unimpressed with the "Leninist delirium" sweeping that country. But he also returned convinced that his own Conservative Party had to be made into a vehicle for introducing social democracy.

Pedro Joaquín Chamorro eventually married Violeta Barrios, who was from a land-owning family in Rivas. Like most Nicaraguan women, Violeta lived for her husband and her children, despising politics and hoping for the fall of the Somozas. Her husband was killed in 1979.

Today, she is about to govern Nicaragua. Those who say that Doña Violeta has no social conscience are ignorant of the legacy of her husband. They forget that more than 40 percent of the best land in the country is in the hands of the Sandinista state, and that there is reason to think that Doña Violeta will really divide these lands among the rural population — the equivalent of turning Manhattan Island over to the homeless. One problem she faces is more uniquely Nicaraguan, namely whether in running the country she will choose only members of her family. (In this regard the Ortegas were entirely traditional, with one brother running the Government, the other, the army.) Doña Violeta depends heavily on her older son, her older daughter, on her son-in-law, on the sister of her son-in-law, on the husband of the sister of her son-in-law, and the brother of the husband of the sister of her son-in-law. Her challenge will be to go beyond matters of family, and govern for the benefit of all.

Arturo Cruz Jr., who is writing a history of Nicaragua, is a former Sandinista and a former contra.

Nicaragua and U.S. changing positions

By Lauren Weiner
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Yesterday's presidential election in Nicaragua may not end the conflict in U.S.-Nicaraguan relations, but it does mark the exhaustion of both sides' strategies over a decade of bilateral tensions.

The United States has given up arming the Nicaraguan Resistance and the Marxist Sandinista government has admitted the need to be legitimized by competitive elections, leaving both countries groping for a new, and possibly less hostile, posture.

Experts credited the threat of renewed U.S. aid to the resistance, the U.S. diplomatic isolation of Nicaragua and the country's failed economy with gradually forcing President Daniel Ortega toward yesterday's referendum on a decade of Sandinista rule.

After leading the revolution that ousted dictator Anastasio Somoza in 1979, the Sandinistas promised political pluralism, non-alignment and a mixed economy but proceeded to take control of most aspects of Nicaraguan life.

It was their broken promises and Nicaragua's support for Marxist rebels in El Salvador that had led President Jimmy Carter, whose administration was initially supportive, to cut off aid to the Sandinistas in 1980.

A distrustful Reagan administration, with the fitful support of Congress, funded a resistance that grew to 12,000 men and applied sanctions that worsened the ill effects of the Sandinistas' statist economic policies.

By the second Reagan administration, the Sandinistas had lost the reflexive support of Latin American governments against the U.S. "colossus of the North," according to Antonio Ybarra, a sociologist at the University of Dubuque who has written extensively on the Nicaraguan revolution.

"After 1984, the Sandinistas' mistakes came to be recognized as their own mistakes," said Mr. Ybarra. Argentina, Ecuador and Colombia "verified the hand of the Sandinistas in their guerrilla movements," he said.

But by 1986, future military support to the resistance was doomed after the Reagan administration was discovered selling arms to Iran and diverting profits to help the rebels buy weapons at a time when Congress had prohibited such aid.

In August 1987, President Reagan, facing a hostile Congress, compromised with then-House Speaker Jim Wright and agreed to delay seeking military aid for the resistance in exchange for democratic reforms inside Nicaragua.

The agreement was followed days later by the five Central American presidents' acceptance of Costa Rican President Oscar Arias' peace plan in Esquipulas, Guatemala.

The combination of the Wright-Reagan accord and the Esquipulas agreement appeared to set the stage for trading in an anti-Sandinista insurgency for a measure of democracy in Nicaragua.

Cease-fire negotiations between the Sandinistas and the resistance followed in 1988, accompanied by a political opening to opposition groups, 14 of which formed the U.S.-backed National Opposition Union that pitted Violeta Chamorro against Mr. Ortega in yesterday's vote.

A Chamorro victory would prove the importance of the economic issue for Nicaraguans, who have seen their country sink below Haiti as the most impoverished in the region.

Mrs. Chamorro has legitimized the election by staying on the ballot, according to Thomas Cox, Latin American affairs analyst at the Heritage Foundation. The results this time cannot be dismissed as were those in a 1984 presidential vote that saw opposition candidates withdraw from a manifestly unfair contest.

But Mr. Cox warned that if Mr. Ortega emerges as the winner, his government may use its electoral validation to "continue its history of unfulfilled promises," regaining international and U.S. monetary support and allowing opposition political figures into the government in unimportant posts, while retaining their lock on power.

NICARAGUA: TORTURED PATH TOWARD DEMOCRACY

January 1978: Newspaper editor Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, a leading critic of dictator Anastasio Somoza, is assassinated in Managua. His death unifies opposition to the regime.

July 1979: Somoza is overthrown by a broad opposition front headed by the Marxist Sandinistas.

1980: Moderates begin resigning from the new government as it becomes increasingly dominated by Marxist ideology. Outgoing President Jimmy Carter cuts off aid to the Sandinistas because of their continued support of the Marxist Salvadoran guerrillas.

1981: The United States begins funding fewer than 1,000 Nicaraguan resistance fighters in Honduras and northern Nicaragua.

December 1982: Congress prohibits military support for the Contras.

1984: CIA involvement in mining of Nicaraguan harbors is disclosed. Daniel Ortega wins a presidential election after opposition candidates withdraw from the race, protesting unfair campaign conditions.

1985: Talks between the United States and Nicaragua collapse. President Ronald Reagan imposes new trade sanctions and Congress approves $27 million in non-military aid to the resistance.

June 1986: A month after Mr. Ortega visits Moscow, Congress reverses itself and approves military and humanitarian aid to the resistance.

November 1986: The Iran-Contra affair erupts with disclosures that Reagan administration officials sold arms to Iran and diverted profits to the resistance, in violation of the 1982 congressional prohibition.

August 1987: Then-House Speaker Jim Wright and Mr. Reagan agree to delay new aid to the resistance if Sandinistas agree to a cease-fire and democratic reforms. Days later, the Central American presidents, led by Costa Rican President Oscar Arias, sign a peace plan that includes amnesty for political prisoners, cease-fires, internal dialogue and an end to outside aid for rebel forces.

1988: Mr. Ortega negotiates a temporary cease-fire with the resistance, and Congress ends military aid to the 12,000-man rebel force.

February 1989: Central American presidents sign new peace plan committing Nicaragua to democratic elections in February 1990 in exchange for a plan to disband the resistance within 90 days.

April 1989: Congress approves $50 million in humanitarian aid to sustain the resistance until the election.

August 1989: The Sandinistas and the civic opposition in Nicaragua sign an accord calling for disbanding the resistance and setting rules for a fair election. The Central American presidents agree to dismantle the resistance under international supervision by early December.

November 1989: Mr. Ortega suspends the truce with the resistance in the middle of the election campaign. The government's cease-fire talks with the rebels in Washington break down, but the election campaign goes ahead as scheduled.

Yesterday: Voters elect a president, choosing between Mr. Ortega and Violeta Chamorro, a former Sandinista ally and the widow of the slain newspaper editor.


Somoza


Pedro Juaquin Chamorro


Ortega


Arias


Carter


Reagan


Violeta Chamorro

The Washington Times

Aristocratic Democrat

Violeta Barrios de Chamorro

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By MARK A. UHLIG
Special to The New York Times

MANAGUA, Nicaragua, Feb. 26 — Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, who was elected President on Sunday, lives by herself in a house by a park. But like her political career, the house is filled with the images and reminders of the absent figure who still dominates her life, public and private.

Woman in the News

In the dark, cool study there is the desk where her husband, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Cardenal, wrote editorials for the family newspaper, La Prensa, becoming world famous as a crusading opponent of the military ruler Anastasio Somoza Debayle.

At the back of the house, carefully covered with canvas, is the tan Saab that Mr. Chamorro was driving to work in 1978 when he was killed by unidentified assassins, setting off the anti-Somoza uprising that became the Sandinista revolution. And in the middle of the house's modest garden is a large bust of Mr. Chamorro that was sculptured after his death made him one of the greatest political heroes in Nicaragua's popular memory.

Doña Violeta's Public Role

The connection of Nicaragua's President-elect to the struggles and sacrifices of her assassinated husband is never far from her mind. And in a country that relishes myth and history, it is also never far from the minds of the hundreds of thousands of supporters who have now promoted Mrs. Chamorro, who is 60 years old, to the highest office in the land.

> 'The people look at her problems and they see themselves.'

Through the memory of her husband, Doña Violeta, as she is universally known, is perhaps as close as one can come to being a national property. And her aristocratic bearing, silver hair and motherly warmth has given her the kind of personal charm that is perfect for inspiring affection — or winning a campaign.

"The UNO is Violeta — nothing more, nothing less," said one diplomat based here, using the acronym for Mrs. Chamorro's 14-party coalition, the National Opposition Union. "She has made all the difference."

"She is like a mother figure," said an international official who is here to observe the election. "The people look at her problems and they see themselves."

The question now is whether that will be enough to move beyond the symbolism of campaigning to the difficult realities of governing a country with a shattered economy and the thorny problems of managing or dismantling a still powerful Sandinista army and security apparatus.

Born in 1929 in the town of Rivas, near Nicaragua's Costa Rican border, Violeta Barrios was a product of rural, albeit upper class, Nicaraguan culture, with no thought of the politics that have now come to dominate her life.

The daughter of a wealthy cattleman who had attended the Massachusetts Institute of Techonology, she spent three years at women's colleges in Texas and Virginia to learn English at her father's behest. When the English never materialized — she still does not speak it well — she returned to Rivas, where her brother introduced her to a college friend, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Cardenal, whose parents owned a newspaper in Managua.

When, a year later, she yielded to Pedro Joaquín's repeated proposals of marriage, the couple began a close, if one-sided life of politics, centered on resistance to the Somoza dictatorship, which Mr. Chamorro loathed.

A member of one of Nicaragua's most famous families, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro devoted most of his time to La Prensa, establishing it as a pillar of opposition to the Somaza regime. Mrs. Chamorro devoted herself to being his wife, taking him food during his frequent prison stays and following him into exile in Costa Rica for two difficult years.

When Mr. Chamorro was assassinated on a Managua street on Jan. 10, 1978, Mrs. Chamorro was 1,000 miles away in Miami, shopping for her daughter's wedding dress. But the political repercussions quickly reached her.

Although Mrs. Chamorro says she still does not know who killed her husband — "I do not believe in the justice of Somoza or the justice of the Sandinistas," she says — the crowds that filled Managua's streets turned their full rage on the Somoza regime, sparking the outpouring of unrest that became the Sandinista revolution.

Served on Sandinista Junta

When Sandinista guerrillas, led by future President Daniel Ortega Saavedra, rode into Managua in triumph in July 1979, Mrs. Chamorro wsa with them as a part of the five-member revolutionary junta, lending her husband's name and her own to this anti-Somoza cause.

But in less than a year she resigned from the junta out of opposition to the Sandinista's growing push for control and orthodoxy. She went back to La Prensa, turning it into a potent voice of opposition thinking, and winning international praise and admiration as an advocate of free speech.

The prominence of her role made her an ideal candidate when opposition leaders, badly divided and suffering from years of political harassment and imprisonment, formed the 14-party UNO coalition last summer.

But Mrs. Chamorro has faced severe criticism as being unprepared for the job she will soon occupy. And many attacks against her have been particularly hurtful, because they have come from her own divided family.

Of Mrs. Chamorro's four children, one son, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Barrios, and one daughter, Cristiana, joined her in opposition to the Sandinista regime, becoming a director of the contra rebels and an editor of La Prensa, respectively.

Tensions in the Family

But another son, Carlos Fernando, and Mrs. Chamorro's eldest daughter, Claudia, are among the most militant and high-ranking Sandinista partisans and do not shy from attacking their mother's political allies.

"The UNO brings together all of the political enemies of my father," Claudia wrote in an open letter published here.

During the campaign, tensions were particularly high between Mrs. Chamorro and Carlos Fernando, who edits the official Sandinista newspaper, Barricada, which has published daily broadsides against the candidate and her campaign.

But many people say the image of a divided family only helped Mrs. Chamorro in her campaign against a revolution that has polarized large sectors of the Nicaraguan population and divided many families in a similar way.

Many diplomats and foreign experts doubt whether Mrs. Chamorro can overcome growing friction between the political hierarchy of her 14-party coalition and her closest advisers, many of whom are related directly or indirectly to the Chamorro family.

But for a woman whose family has always stood at the center of her interest in a public life, those problems are hardly something new.

"If Pedro hadn't been assassinated, the Sandinistas would still be up in the mountains, fighting as guerrillas," she said.

Recovering From Injury

Special to The New York Times

MANAGUA, Nicaragua, Feb. 26 — In many photographs of Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, the Nicaraguan President-elect appears on crutches or a wheelchair, because of a fractured right kneecap that she suffered in a fall in her home at midday on Jan. 2.

The injury was treated in Houston, and Mrs. Chamorro's cast was removed on Feb. 8 by doctors in Managua.

She still wears a knee brace but is expected to regain full use of the knee after she returns to the United States for physical therapy sometime this spring.

'DONA VIOLETA': A PROFILE

Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, 60, surprise winner of Nicaraguan election, emerged into politics from the shadow of her assassinated husband, a Nicaraguan hero . . . she was born Oct. 18, 1929, to wealthy landowners in Rivas, a small town near border with Costa Rica . . . married Pedro Joaquin Chamorro in 1950 and loyally supported him during years of jailing and exile under dictatorship of Somoza family . . . was thrust into limelight in 1978 after her husband, publisher of La Prensa newspaper, was assassinated on orders of supporters of dictator Anastasio Somoza . . . served with Daniel Ortega on five-member junta that ruled Nicaragua just after the 1979 revolution . . . became disillusioned with Sandinistas and left government in April, 1980 . . . devoted herself to La Prensa and turned it into vehement opponent of Sandinistas . . . although widely viewed as figurehead, was chosen in September, 1989, to lead National Opposition Union (UNO), with platform calling for market economy, end to compulsory military service and return of land illegally confiscated by Sandinistas . . . unaligned with any single party, she stresses values of Roman Catholicism, democracy and private enterprise . . . has been treated for bone disease osteoporosis . . . was sidelined from campaign for several weeks by broken knee . . . is referred to even by some opponents as "Dona Violeta" . . . heads family badly split by revolution, with two children backing Sandinistas and two others supporting opposition.



Source: Reuters

A Los Angeles Times survey of returns from a nationwide sample of polling places showed the Sandinistas winning only in one of Nicaragua's nine regions: Esteli. They were rejected by a larger margin in rural areas than in the cities but ran virtually even in rural zones hit hardest by the civil war.

The survey gave no evidence that the Sandinistas did better among voters 16 to 24 years, who made up a third of the electorate and were supposedly one of their strongest constituencies.

Three hours after the polls closed, a similar but unpublished survey of 300 polling places by U.N. election monitors showed Chamorro winning by 56% to 40%.

At that point, Carter and the heads of the OAS and U.N. observer teams, Joao Baena Soares and former U.S. Atty. Gen. Elliot L. Richardson, suspected the electoral council of deliberately slowing the official count, according to Robert Pastor, a top aide to Carter. Pastor gave this account:

After three hours of futile efforts to find Ortega, the three men were invited by the Sandinista leader at midnight to his campaign headquarters, which was throbbing with music and dancing as supporters anticipated victory.

"He was not yet prepared to admit defeat," said Pastor, who attended the meeting. "I think the presence of Carter, Baena and Richardson all saying that the vote is over and you've lost . . . all this eased his acceptance [of the result] and allowed Ortega to think of ways to prepare the population for what had occurred."

Ortega agreed to speed up the official vote count if Chamorro promised not to claim victory before official returns were announced. The challenger delayed her speech until after 2 a.m., when the electoral council first announced she was leading. And, at the monitors' suggestion, the first page of her text was rewritten and toned down, so that it asserted only that she was leading, not that she had won.

The observers also discussed with Ortega "a number of ideas they thought would be wise to put in [his] speech," Pastor said.

When Ortega appeared in public a few hours later, he wore a dark paisley shirt and blue jeans, attire typical of his campaign appearances, rather than the military uniform he used to wear.

The Sandinista program, he told his supporters, was a giant stride for Nicaragua's people, despite the election defeat. Many of them wept.

"We leave victorious," he said. "Because we Sandinistas have sacrificed, have spilled blood and sweat, not to cling to government posts, but to bring to Nicaragua something denied it since 1821, when it became an independent nation.

"Nicaragua was denied democracy, social and economic development, the right to speak out and organize, the right of *campesinos* to own land, the right of the poor to aspire to a better life.

"All this that was denied was achieved on July 19, 1979, with the triumph of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, which established the bases to develop an independent, dignified and sovereign Nicaragua with economic and social justice and with complete democracy."

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On Eve of Charting Its Future, Hungary Remembers Tragedies of the Past

By Blaine Harden
Washington Post Foreign Service

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BUDAPEST, March 24—The last campaign rally before Sunday's voting—the first free multi-party parliamentary election in this country since 1945—played to the tortured yearnings of the Hungarian soul. It began with a tuxedo-clad Budapest actor, his eyes glistening with tears, reciting the Hungarian national anthem, a line of which says, "This nation has suffered enough."

Candidates of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, one of two leading parties in the landmark election, rose one after another Friday night to invoke bad times. They alluded to the failed overthrow of the Hapsburg monarchy in 1848, to the failed uprising against Soviet domination in 1956 and, of course, to the indignities visited on Hungary by four decades of communism.

ELECTIONS IN THE EAST
AFTER THE REVOLUTIONS

An orchestra then played a 19th-century composition from Transylvania, a region Hungary lost to Romania 70 years ago. And all the candidates deplored the suffering of their Hungarian brothers in bloody ethnic violence there this week.

In the final speech of this final rally, Jozsef Antall, leader of the Democratic Forum and perhaps the next prime minister, insisted that "we are not nationalists. We are not chauvinists."

Yet his speech catalogued Hungary's myriad losses.

"The world must understand," Antall said, "that Hungary lost two-thirds of its territory and half of its people."

When Hungarians go to the polls Sunday, they will have an opportunity to decide how much their past should color their non-communist future. For the other leading party in the elections, the Alliance of Free Democrats, has all but ignored the country's countless historical setbacks.

Instead, the Free Democrats, a party of former dissidents and intellectuals, have advocated a radical free-market program that the party insists is the only way to pull Hungary back from economic disaster.

For decades, "goulash communism" here provided 11 million citizens with perhaps the most comfortable life in what was the East Bloc. That comfort, which the Communists bought with huge Western loans, is now gone. Foreign debt is the highest per capita in Europe. Inflation is surging, and taxes and heart attacks are on the rise, while real incomes are on the wane.

While the West is bursting with enthu-

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siasm for the democratic gains of Eastern Europe, pollsters, politicians and psychiatrists say Hungarians are deeply pessimistic about their economic future.

The Free Democrats propose to save Hungary by opening it to foreign capital and by drastically limiting the power of the central government. They propose a "shock therapy" reform program of the kind that has throttled inflation in Poland while causing unprecedented unemployment.

"We think that the state is the most untalented enterprise in Hungary," said Peter Tolgyessy, 32, a constitutional lawyer and strategist who is one of the Free Democrats' likely choices for prime minister. "We place no limit on foreign purchase of industry. Of course, it is a danger, but a bigger danger is that there is no capital and no owner."

The Democratic Forum, although it has a free-market economic program, is more cautious about foreigners and their money.

The party insists that the purchase of state industry "must take place within the context of a reasonable and socially controlled process." It has rejected a proposal by the Free Democrats to swap unpaid foreign debt for equity in Hungarian enterprises.

Until ethnic violence erupted in Transylvania this week, the Free Democrats appeared to be gaining steadily. The last Gallup poll gave the Free Democrats 23.1 percent to 21.5 percent for the Democratic Forum.

But on the eve of the election, analysts from both parties say the Transylvanian violence—at least six people were killed and several hundred were injured—is likely to inflame nationalist feelings among Hungarian voters and probably will benefit the Democratic Forum.

In this confused political stew, where are the communists?

In Hungary, after all, it was reformers inside the ruling Communist Party—not demonstrators in the streets—who made the revolution. They engineered the passage of laws setting up free elections. They abolished the Communist Party and created the Hungarian Socialist Party.

The best-known reformer is Imre Pozsgay, 56, a jowly, gray-haired fireplug of a politician who last year described Communists who believed in the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as "flat-earthers." He was the first party member with the courage to reinterpret publicly the "counter-revolution" of 1956 as a popular uprising. Last fall he was the most popular political figure in the country and was widely regarded as the likely next president of Hungary.

Now Pozsgay, like the post-communist Socialist Party that he helped create, is scrambling to avoid political extinction.

Polls give the former Communists less than 10 percent of the vote. All of the major opposition parties insist that they will not allow the Socialists to join a ruling coalition. The crowds that turn out for party rallies are small, elderly and gloomy. Pozsgay is running for parliament in the western city of Sopron against a 28-year-old law professor. Analysts say the famous reformer may lose.

As one of his party's least-disliked leaders, Pozsgay has campaigned across the country, trying to cut his party's expected losses. Yet his presence often is unwelcome.

"So many people lied to us, we are fed up with their lies," said Vajda Lajos, 68, a dairy worker who showed up at a campaign appearance near Lake Balaton this week to scold Pozsgay face to face. "I think he is not valid. I saw what happened in the past 40 years."

Pozsgay acknowledged in an interview that "obviously it is a bad feeling" when voters show no gratitude. He particularly resents, he said, being called a "Communist."

"It's like calling Martin Luther a former Catholic, and not the founder of the Lutheran church," he said.

Notwithstanding lingering anti-Communist resentment in Hungary, it appears that Pozsgay and other leading reformers will win seats in parliament. Under the byzantine rules of the election, "national list" candidates such as Pozsgay will be able to sit in parliament even if they lose in their local districts.

Opposition politicians describe this as the country's reward for former Communist reformers who supported peaceful change.

There is a fourth major player in the elections, the Independent Smallholders. It is a revived version of a farm-based party that ruled the country between 1945 and 1947. Polls suggest the party is much more popular than the Socialist Party and that it could win about 17 percent of the vote.

Like the Democratic Forum, the Smallholders party ceaselessly urges voters to look to the past. Its slogans are "God, House and Family" and "Wine, Wheat and Tranquility." Leaders of the party have promised to return farms seized by the Communists in 1947.

Hungarian economists say the land promise is unworkable and would cripple any government that tried to implement it.

Nevertheless, the Smallholders party may emerge as a power broker in the negotiations expected to follow Sunday's vote. Like the Democratic Forum, the Smallholders appear to have been strengthened by violence in Transylvania.

Hungary has devised perhaps the most complicated voting system in Europe. Fewer than half of the 386 seats in the parliament are expected to be decided Sunday. Before a final round of voting April 8, the parties will seek to form alliances that could lead to a ruling coalition.

The Free Democrats approached the Smallholders this week, trying to strike a bargain that would help them isolate the Democratic Forum. The power of the past in Hungary is such that the party that wants to drastically reduce the role of government may have no choice but to preside over government redistribution of land.

Hungary's 12 Major Parties

Parties qualified to be seated as national parties in the Hungarian Parliament, roughly in order of their popularity in recent polls. The first round of the election is today.

Hungarian Democratic Forum
Leaders: Jozsef Antall, Geza Jeszenszky.
Center-right, with Christian image and nationalist overtones. Favors a transition to a free-market economy, but as an early umbrella opposition group, includes a wide spectrum of opinion.

Alliance of Free Democrats
Leaders: Janos Kis, Marton Tardos, Miklos Gaspar Tamas, Miklos Haraszti.
Created from the base of the old dissident movement. Refused to compromise with the ruling Communists.

Independent Smallholders' Party
Leaders: Vince Voros, Istvan Prepeliczay, Pal Dragon.
A major party in the pre-Communist era. Agrarian and Christian. By promising to return the land to its 1947 owners, it has built a base in the villages, particularly among the elderly.

The Hungarian Socialist Party
Leaders: Rezso Nyers, Imre Pozsgay.
Legal successor to the Hungarian Socialist Workers (Communist) Party. Advocates social democratic policies, and argues for a strong "left" opposition. Membership has dwindled dramatically, but still strong among officials and workers.

Federation of Young Democrats
Leaders: Viktor Orban, Tamas Dutsch, Gabor Fodor.
A party with a membership limited to those under 35. Radical, iconoclastic, it is credited with running a sophisticated campaign, competing with the Free Democrats, its natural allies, for support of the younger intelligentsia.

Social Democratic Party of Hungary
Leaders: Anna Petrasovits, Gyorgy Fischer.
A left-center party, which has revived its membership in the Socialist International. Has received support from foreign social democrats, but was badly hurt by an early split and has failed to carve out its own place.

Christian Democratic People's Party
Leaders: Sandor Keresztes, Gyorgy Giczi.
Right of center and Christian. Likely to get a boost from local Catholic priests in village churches.

Hungarian People's Party
Leaders: Csaba Varga, Janos Marton.
Considers itself to be the successor of the prewar National Peasant Party. Populist centrist.

Hungarian Socialist Workers Party
Leaders: Gyula Thurmer, Karoly Grosz.
A Marxist party that split from the main reformist wing of the old Communist Party last October. Advocates a renewed socialism, and warns workers of the dangers of uncontrolled capitalism.

Entrepreneurs Party
Leaders: Gyorgy Szucs, Imre Fejes.
Promises economic rights and fair taxes to Hungary's emerging class of entrepreneurs.

Patriotic Election Coalition
Leader: Istvan Asztalos.
An ad-hoc alliance created for the elections, formed from the Patriotic People's Front, a grouping of mostly non-Communists that existed during the Communist monopoly.

Agrarian Federation
A leftist coalition made of mainly of cooperative farm presidents, who are in opposition to the Smallholders' Party in the debate over land ownership.

THE ELECTIONS AT A GLANCE

AT STAKE

- 386 seats in the nation's unicameral parliament. Runoffs will be held for seats not won by a majority of votes in the first round.

ELIGIBILITY

- All Hungarian citizens 18 and older were eligible to vote. All ballots were secret. In a somewhat controversial move, election authorities decided not to permit write-in ballots. Citizens outside the country could not vote.

MAJOR PARTIES

Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF)
Staunchly anti-Communist forum appeals to Hungarian nationalism and favors a gradual turning toward the West. Its power base rests largely in provincial towns. The forum registered 21% support in a Gallup poll earlier this month.

Alliance of Free Democrats (SDS)
Party of intellectuals and former dissidents that seeks rapid creation of a West European-style society. The party has been uncompromising in advocating free-market reform and foreign investment. Won 23% support in the poll. An allied party is the Federation of Young Democrats.



Independent Smallholders
Party has presented itself as the main rural party, with center-right leanings. Supported by 17% of the poll's respondents.

Hungarian Socialist Party (MSP)
Main remnant of the Communist Party that ruled Hungary for more than four decades but was dissolved last year. The party won the support of only 9% of the poll's respondents. Hungarians apparently find it difficult to trust a party with Communist roots.

SOURCES: The Washington Post, Associated Press, Reuter, KRTN Graphics

BY TOBEY—THE WASHINGTON POST

Szajer's party, which was running fourth in nationwide polling, is closely allied with the Free Democrats and is considered likely to join that party in a governing coalition.

Pozsgay was the first Communist to reinterpret Hungary's 1956 "counterrevolution" as a popular uprising. He also was instrumental last year in creating the post-Communist Hungarian Socialist Party, which promised to pursue free-market policies while integrating Hungary into Western Europe. He closely identified himself with the new party, insisting that Hungarians wanted "the values of socialism" to be retained by any democratically elected government.

"These results mean that the role Pozsgay played in Hungary was an interim one in the transition to democracy," his victorious opponent said Sunday night. "It is a symbol that reform communism in Eastern Europe has its limits."

Under the electoral system here, however, Pozsgay has not lost. As the second-leading vote getter in his district, he will be able to run in the second round of voting. If he loses then, as is considered likely, he will be allowed to enter parliament because he appears on his party's national list. Under election rules, leaders of major parties will automatically be elected to parliament.

In an effort to outflank pent-up resentment at former Communists, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, one of the Communist reformers who led last year's democratic changes, ran in his hometown as an "independent" candidate. The tactic, which enabled Nemeth to capitalize on local popularity, worked well. In one of the few races in which definitive results were reported, Nemeth won with nearly 60 percent of the vote.

Except for the computerized reporting problems, no significant irregularities were reported in the voting. Former vice president Walter F. Mondale, leading a 50-member international group here to monitor voting procedures, said there were no major problems. Turnout on Sunday was estimated at more than 70 percent.

"This is the first happy voting of my life," Elizabeth Hajda, 52, a retired accountant, said in an interview Sunday in the conservative rural Hortobagy region in the east. "Our hands are not tied. It is a good feeling that we have a chance to choose."

Echoing what appeared to be a nationwide feeling, several voters said they voted for the Free Democrats because the country desperately needs change. "I want to stop the former system. The Communists are kaput all over the world, at last," said Istvan Egri, 37, an electrician in Hortobagy, who voted for the Free Democrats. "I want to stop the crimes of the former system."

Last week, the Free Democrats announced a strongly anti-Communist program, saying those responsible for injustices "by the former regime" must be brought to justice. The party proposed scrapping high pensions for former elite Communists.

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Hungary to Hold First Free Election in 40 Years Today

By CAROL J. WILLIAMS
TIMES STAFF WRITER

BALASSAGYARMAT, Hungary—For Marta Osztroluczki and the Independent Smallholders Party she hopes to represent in Parliament, the surest road to recovery from the ravages of socialism is to turn back the clock on more than 40 years.

"Not much of the past 40 years is worth saving," insists Osztroluczki, a 26-year-old geography teacher, wife and mother of two from this northern farming town on the border with Czechoslovakia. "Everything we learned was designed to keep the Communist Party in power. That is no longer what anyone wants."

Hungarians must be brave enough to admit the failure of their recent history, the ardent advocate of agrarian reform contended at a district rally winding up her campaign for today's national election, Hungary's first free ballot in more than four decades. To move forward, she argued, the nation must first move back.

The Smallholders propose to redistribute land and assets according to 1947 ownership records, a move viewed by liberals and city dwellers as naive, illogical and as potentially disruptive as the forced collectivizations it aims to reverse.

But in rural farming regions like Balassagyarmat, a longing to return to Hungary's simple agrarian heritage has combined with a nationwide fever of anti-socialism to make the Smallholders plan an appealing alternative to the economic doomsaying of the two other leading political parties.

The center-right Hungarian Democratic Forum and the liberal Alliance of Free Democrats have warned voters of hard times ahead as the nation wrestles with a $20-billion foreign debt and a painful conversion to capitalism that may cause inflation and unemployment to soar.

"Some of the population doesn't want to go back to farming, but we must do it for the good of the nation," contends Gyorgy Balogh, vice president of the Smallholders in Budapest. "It is impossible to solve the problem in any other way. We must begin at the last turning point, in 1947."

About half of Hungary's territory was parceled out to farmers under the 1947 agrarian reform, which the Smallholders contend is the only equitable basis for redistributing assets.

They propose returning the land to its former owners or their legitimate heirs within two years and following up with a second stage of the private property reform that would restore ownership of shops, homes and other assets to the titleholders of 1947.

The two leading parties, each of which has been drawing about 20% of voter support in public opinion polls, dismiss the Shareholders' redistribution plan as unworkable.

Miklos Haraszti, a Budapest candidate for the Alliance of Free Democrats, protests that 40% of those eligible to lay claim to their families' former farmland now live in cities and work at industrial jobs.

To hand over those property rights would send food prices skyrocketing, Haraszti argues, as collective farmers would have to rent land at market prices from the new owners or face eviction and unemployment.

Yet the prospect for a swift transition to private ownership or cashing in on sale of the acreage are making the Smallholders' policy attractive to enough Hungarians to be worrisome for the more mainstream parties.

The Smallholders trail the Forum and the Alliance by only a few percentage points in polls that some fear have failed to canvass voters in the provinces, where Smallholders support is based.

Pollsters attempting to chart the mood of the electorate have been thwarted by the inadequate communications network in Hungary, where only one in 10 households has a telephone and the media have yet to shed the prejudice of more than 40 years of one-party control.

The Smallholders' potential to emerge as the dark horse has kept the door open for partnership in the likely event that no party wins a majority in the complicated balloting.

Hungarians will have the opportunity to vote for both a specific candidate to represent their home district and for the party that most appeals to them.

The winner in each of the 176 individual constituencies will be the first candidate to get an absolute majority, with runoffs tentatively set for April 8 for those districts where no candidate clears 50% in the first vote. Another 152 seats will be determined by each party's standing in the popularity vote, and the remaining 58 seats in the 386-member Parliament will be distributed proportionally among the parties winning at least 4% of the aggregate vote.

Geza Jeszenszky, a foreign policy expert with the Hungarian Democratic Forum, predicted at least a 70% turnout, despite what Westerners see as a relatively apathetic attitude among the nation's 7.5 million eligible voters.

The three leading parties are united in their prediction that whichever force comes out ahead will have to form a coalition with at least one of the other two to push its reform policies through Parliament.



Los Angeles Times