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March 28/90

TO: KRISTEN GEAR
2 Pages

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS (Curt Smith)

I THOUGHT I'D DO SOMETHING A LITTLE DIFFERENT THIS YEAR AND MAKE MY SPEECH THE SAME LENGTH AS THE AVERAGE STORY IN "USA TODAY." SO THANK YOU AND GOODNIGHT.

I WAS TOLD I'D BE ADDRESSING A GROUP SO IMPORTANT TO THE NEWSPAPER WORLD, IT WOULD COLLAPSE WITHOUT YOU. I HAVE TO SAY YOU'RE THE BEST-DRESSED GROUP OF PAPER ROUTE DELIVERY PEOPLE I'VE EVER SEEN.

IT'S A PLEASURE TO BE HERE WITH THE EDITORS OF AMERICA'S FINEST NEWSPAPERS, AND ALSO THOSE WHO CARRY "EVANS & NOVAK."

IT'S GOOD TO KNOW THAT IF MY REMARKS NEED EDITING AS I GO ALONG, HELP ISN'T VERY FAR AWAY.

NO WONDER WE'LL NEVER SEE EYE TO EYE. I'M TRAVELLING AROUND THE COUNTRY PLANTING TREES, AND YOU'RE CUTTING THEM DOWN TO MAKE NEWSPAPERS.

ONE OF MY GRANDKIDS ASKED ME THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MY JOB AND YOURS'. I SAID IT WAS MY JOB TO SOLVE ALL OF AMERICA'S PROBLEMS, AND IT'S YOUR JOB TO MAKE SURE NO ONE FINDS OUT ABOUT IT IF I DO.

MORE...

- Misdemeanor and civil penalties would be included as sanctions for violations of the criminal conflict-of-interest statutes, while retaining and enhancing felony sanctions for willful violations of these laws.
- The Attorney General would be given authority to seek injunctive relief for violations of these laws, and administrative debarment authority against former Government employees who violate the postemployment restrictions would be expanded.
- The bill would authorize an exemption from the Federal Advisory Committee Act facilitating the creation of a White House Ethics Council to advise White House and Cabinet officials, in conjunction with the Counsel to the President, on ethics matters.

Campaign Financing

- The bill would prohibit the use of excess campaign contributions for personal use and office expenses.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

- The new Executive order would set forth 14 fundamental principles of ethical conduct for the executive branch.
- Full-time noncareer Presidential appointees in the executive branch would be prohibited from receiving any earned income for outside employment during their Presidential appointments.
- The Office of Government Ethics would be responsible for administering the order by:
  - —Consolidating all executive branch standards of conduct regulations into a single set of regulations, and developing and periodically updating a comprehensive executive branch ethics manual.
  - —Issuing regulations (with the concurrence of the Attorney General) interpreting the general statute prohibiting actions in matters in which employees have financial interests (18 U.S.C. 208) and the statute prohibiting supplementation of salaries (18 U.S.C. 209).
  - —Issuing regulations (as previously authorized) setting forth a system for nonpublic (confidential) financial reporting for executive branch employees to supplement the public disclosure system.
- Agency responsibilities include:
  - —Supplementing the standards provided by law, the Executive order, and the comprehensive regulations issued by the Office of Government Ethics. Any supplements must be prepared as addenda to the comprehensive branch-wide regulations, and be approved by the Office of Government Ethics.
  - —Consulting with the Office of Government Ethics, where practicable, prior to granting waivers of conflict-of-interest requirements, and providing that office with a copy of any waiver granted.
  - —Obtaining approval from the Office of Government Ethics for annual plans for training and awareness activities.
  - —Providing mandatory annual training briefings on ethics for all senior officials as well as other designated employees. All Executive Office of the President staff would be included.
  - —Assessment of the ethics program in each agency and provision of adequate support, including the use of a separate line item in the budget, where practicable.
- The order would provide that the Executive Office of the President may not be compartmentalized for the purpose of the 1-year postemployment cooling-off restriction.
- The order reaffirms existing delegations of authority to issue conflict-of-interest waivers for certain Presidential appointees.

Remarks to the American Society of Newspaper Editors

April 12, 1989

The President. Thank you all very much. John, thank you—please. Well, I'm delighted to be here and look forward to taking a

few questions. I've been getting such a ribbing about my highly stylized prose; I thought it only appropriate for me to share a few recent headlines with you. [*Laughter*] I'm sure nobody here would write things like this, but—"Dentist Receives Plaque"—that was one—[*laughter*]—"Actor Sent to Jail for Not Finishing Sentence"—[*laughter*]—and "The Rest of the Year May Not Follow January." I'm tempted to gloat. If that's the standard, I'm not doing too bad. [*Laughter*]

Adlai Stevenson said: "An editor is a person who separates the wheat from the chaff and prints the chaff." [*Laughter*] So, I know I'm probably responsible for providing my fair share of chaff, but after all, I am the guy that said during the campaign: "A kitchen in every pot."—[*laughter*]—and also that "America's freedom"—I was reminded by some of these back here—"America's freedom is the example by which the world expires." [*Laughter*]

ethical standards

So, let no one miss the message: As editors you uphold a certain ethical standard in your newsrooms, and you've got to do that because a newspaper is only as good as its word. And I think this is no less true of government. High ethical standards are central to this administration, and we're going to enforce them strictly, comprehensively, fairly, and to the letter and spirit of the law.

And we've got to work together to reform a public code of conduct that at times appears to be in disarray. And it's not logical or fair a code; it's both too harsh and too lenient. And it elevates detail over substance, precept over principle.

And so, today I want to talk to you about some proposals of our administration, because such a system as now constituted ultimately breeds cynicism and contempt for the law. To truly reform it, we must remember that standards of trust and honesty are not dictated from regulations written in Washington, DC. Ethics in public service derive from the natural integrity of the American people. They are to be found in the everyday conduct of working men and women, in the postman checking up on the elderly resident at home or in the cashier who runs after the customer that's been overcharged. The millions of Americans who meet their obligations honestly and teach their kids to do it the same way see nothing extraordinary about asking the same of their government. The American people are troubled when they hear of officials in every branch of government, at whatever level of government, who show a brazen contempt for the letter or spirit of the law. And the American people do not understand why certain behavior is considered criminal when committed by an executive branch official—are perfectly legal when committed by someone in another branch of government. Is not a crime a crime? Should there not be an underlying standard of integrity for all?

And as President-elect, I heard about talented men and women who, though perfectly honest, declined to come to serve in government out of fear—fear of the sheer complexity of Federal ethics laws, fear that a simple, honest mistake could lead to a public nightmare. And these concerns led me to issue an Executive order [No. 12668] creating the President's Commission on Federal Ethics Law Reform. And I asked its members to recommend steps to foster full confidence in the integrity of all Federal public officials and employees.

And on March 9, as you may remember, this Commission filed its report and its recommendations. It was chaired by Judge Wilkie, co-chaired by former Attorney General Griffin Bell. In fact, the legislation now resulting from their recommendations and other ideas that I have—the legislation is being sent to the Congress today. And just this morning, I issued an Executive order [No. 12674] announcing ethical principles for the conduct of executive branch employees.

Both actions seek a common end: to raise ethical standards, to avoid conflicts of interest, and to ensure that the law is respected in fact and in appearance.

There are those, of course, who say that public ethics and values cannot be legislated. But they can—and I'm inclined to agree: You're never going to legislate away impropriety or through legislation guarantee that everybody lives beyond the, you know, perception of criticism—but these values and ethics can be encouraged, respected, and adhered to in government. Public service must reflect the best values

of America. And let me add that most public servants, in my view, do that. And I have served in the Congress, and I have served in the executive branch as well.

Jefferson said: "The whole art of government consists in being honest." And yet too often, simple honesty is not enough. Government rules have worked at cross-purposes. Our regulations have been complicated and unequally applied. Our laws have been contradictory and unclear. And we've spent more time trying to understand Federal ethics laws than we have trying to live by them.

My ethics program seeks to remedy these defects. How? By setting four objectives: first, to establish clear ethical principles; second, to ensure uniform standards among all three branches of government; third, to insist that these standards be fair and reasonable; and fourth, to ensure that these standards attract, not drive out, talented men and women to government.

My ethics program first insists that ethical standards must be exacting enough to ensure that officials act with the utmost integrity, for the public's confidence is not ours to inherit. We must earn that confidence, and it must be constantly renewed. With this in mind, I have placed a ban on outside income for noncareer Presidential appointees in the executive branch, including all employees in the immediate White House Office. I am proposing expanded financial disclosure for all three branches of government. And I have instructed my staff to perform a comprehensive review of Federal campaign finance laws.

Regarding the last, I have already reached one determination. Congress should extend for all Members the prohibition against the conversion of political contributions for personal or office use. Political donations should not become a sort of individual retirement account for Members of the United States Congress. And I call on Congress to close this loophole, and to close it this year.

Modern democratic government works best when organized by strong political parties. And yet we've allowed our parties to become weakened and overshadowed by special interests. And we can best restore the role of the parties by limiting political action committees. PAC's weaken the parties, restrain competition, and deaden the political debate. And I believe we should eliminate contributions to candidates by political action committees, and I'll be consulting with the Congress about that. And I also oppose Federal funding of congressional campaigns. My legislative proposal also strengthens the rules against abusing the revolving door for private gain at the expense of public trust. These rules must not make government service a bar to productive work in the private sector, but they must prohibit the appearance of profiting from government service, and this must include the legislative branch as well.

I'm proposing a 25-percent pay raise for Federal judges, while restricting their acceptance of honoraria. I also believe that honoraria for Members of Congress should be banned. And I believe Congress should have a pay increase. And I will not make a formal proposal on Congress until after I consult with the leaders of Congress on the issue of congressional pay. There is no point, absolutely no point, in putting Congress through another traumatic bashing like the one just completed. And I will include in those consultations the question of a pay increase for certain executive branch positions, including specialized jobs like those out there at the National Institute of Health. And I will strongly support pay increases for these jobs which are so important to this country.

My ethics program's second goal recognizes that ethical consistency demands equitable standards across all three branches of government. And under our Constitution, every branch of government is equal and none warrants preferential treatment. The same standard that applies to a staff person at HUD should also apply to housing subcommittee staff on Capitol Hill. And a practice is either ethical or it is not. And if Washington is to be a level playing field, then every player should be treated the same. And therefore, I am proposing that we must extend the independent counsel statute to cover the Congress. I am also proposing that the Federal statute that prohibits employees from taking actions that enhance their own financial interest be extended to cover legislative and judicial branch employees. There should also be an

independent ethics office for Congress, to be headed by a clearly nonpartisan official, confirmed by both Houses. And I ask that the existing 1-year postemployment cooling-off period for the senior executive branch employees also apply to the legislative and judicial branches.

And then there's the third objective of this ethics program. It insists that standards be reasonable and reflect good old-fashioned common sense. Some financial interests, for example, are too minor to create any meaningful conflict of interest at all. So, I want the Office of Government Ethics to have the authority to issue regulations authorizing waivers from these conflict of interest statute. But at the same time, we're urging tougher penalties when intentional violations of criminal conflict of interest laws occur. We're asking officials from all three branches to simplify the forms that must be completed by prospective appointees. And I'm also requiring mandatory annual briefings on ethics for Presidential appointees.

My program's fourth objective is to attract and keep the best people in government by keeping Federal ethics laws fair and balanced.

An ethics law is not a weapon—a blunt instrument with which to pound a public servant. It's not a gag with which to silence the outspoken. It's a tool to ensure a government as honest as the American people. We must not allow overly restrictive requirements to be abused or to keep talented people from entering public service. And that is why we have carefully crafted new postemployment restrictions. And that's why we want to allow persons who are required to divest assets to defer their tax liability.

My ethics program shows exactly where we are going and why. We seek to attract and keep the best and brightest in government. And by helping others, by building a better America—honorably, ethically—we seek to show how public service is not the sum of our perks or possessions but a measure of how we conduct ourselves and what we achieve.

Come to think of it, this is a good code for all occupations, from high school to the highest callings in journalism and government. I am delighted to have the opportunity to present to you the principles of this ethics package and obviously—I don't want to see this powerful crowd escape without a pitch—I'd like to have your editorial support for the objectives that I've outlined here today.

Thank you all very much, and I'd be glad to take your questions.

Blacks and Women in the Presidency

Q. Mr. President, my daughter thanks you for the autograph you gave us last week, and I'm asking this question on her behalf. She is a 12-year-old 6th grader—and I'm a little nervous here—12-year-old 6th grader at Shepherd Elementary School. And she asked me after I left the White House, "Daddy, will I ever be President? Will I have a chance to be President like Mr. Bush?" She's black and also female. Do you envision, sir, a time when this country might be prepared to elect a black and/or female as President?

The President. Yes, I do. I'd say to her: If I can make it, she can make it. But nevertheless—[*laughter*]—no, but seriously, Ben [Benjamin Johnson, Jr., managing editor of the Columbia-Missourian], of course we're in changing times here; and the great thing is that she might, by her question, aspire to be President. And I hope that I can keep alive, for at least the time I'm in the White House, the concept—the honor of public service, the obligation to put something back into the system, and also the fact that if you get into the arena you get a very different perspective than when you're sitting outside.

I'll always love what Sam Rayburn said. And this is a little off your question for your daughter. But as he was listening to some debate with a bunch of staffers, I think it was, up on the Hill, he said, "Well, the problem is they never ran for sheriff." And it makes a difference. So, I hope that the question means she is interested, and I hope that the progress this country has made and will make in the future will guarantee that a black teenager today, female, might well be President of the United States.

Nomination of John Tower

Q. How do you square that excellent program you've just outlined to us, sir, with the

Tower nomination and your support right to the end?

The President. I see no contradiction whatsoever. As you know, I don't want to relive the Tower question, but I believe that judgments should be made on reality, not on perception. I didn't like what happened, and I don't think that it is any conflict at all with any of the four points I made here today. So, I'd simply—and nothing convinced me from the hearings of that, because I don't think that there was anything that was pointed out to definitively—that conflicts with what we've talked about here. So, I just would respectfully disagree with the conclusion that the United States Senate reached. And I'm going to work with them. We're going forward now. And they promptly confirmed Dick Cheney. But I just don't see any there at all.

Fairness Doctrine

Q. Mr. President, this week the House committee reported out a bill which most of the people in this room think would severely limit and hamper the first amendment. It would pass into law the so-called fairness doctrine. The head-counters say that it will probably go through both chambers quite comfortably. Will you stand with your predecessor in vetoing that bill should it come to you?

The President. Well, I don't want to indicate a veto would be necessary, but I will stand with the previous position that I was a part of in the last administration.

Press Access to the President

Q. Mr. President, since you've taken office, you've greatly increased the access to the Presidency on the part of the press, and you've taken such initiatives as hosting small dinners in your private residence with reporters and editors. This has sparked some debate, and if I can frame it, if you'll permit me to frame it in the spirit of our morning session with Morton Downey and Geraldo Rivera [television talk-show hosts] and others: Is he trying to woo us, and may he succeed in seducing us? Mr. President, if you would explain your philosophy to press coverage of the Presidency and the relationship with your administration? I realize that some of the debate is probably our ability to complain, no matter what kind of access we get. But I'd like to hear your views of your relationship to the media.

The President. Well, in the first place, when Barbara and I invite a reporter and her spouse or a reporter and his spouse to the White House for an upstairs dinner, we're doing that not to seduce the press—[*laughter*]—treating them as human beings. And one of the reasons—you've asked my press policy—one of the reasons I don't take questions over the sound of the helicopter blades out there is: I want to treat the press with the dignity to which it is entitled. And if you have to get your question answered by screaming at me when I don't want to answer it, you don't look very good. And I don't think it's very good for the White House.

And so, what I've tried to do is have enough availability. In fact, I'm going to cross this one up as a press conference for the record. One more notch so I can go to those doubters—[*laughter*]—and say, Look, we want to be accessible. But I would separate out—you know, I don't know what we'll do at Christmas. So, what Barbara and I try to do at our house is say, Hey, you and Joan and Gene, or whoever it is, come on to the Christmas party—and not have to have it all categorized and so afraid that somebody thinks I'm trying to seduce some reporter that you have to be treated as something so different than anybody else. And so, availability—don't get mad when they ask stuff you don't like, and treat people as you would whatever walk of life or whatever occupation they come from. And if it's misinterpreted, fine. You don't have to come. And so, I understand. I remember back a few years ago when one of the great news organizations said, "Okay, we're no longer going to be used. We're not going to any backgrounders or off the record." It lasted about 30 seconds, and those reporters came trooping back in. [*Laughter*] But I respected that if that's—they want to do it, but please believe me that when we do it this way, it's what we feel is appropriate. And if it's not, I'll sure—I think we'll take a hit, but I'm unpersuaded by the gentle logic of Morton Downey—[*laughter*]—and whoever that other guy was that was here.

Speaker of the House Jim Wright

Q. Mr. President, since you've announced this ethics program for the executive branch, I'd like to ask your comments about another situation involving ethics.

The President. Oops. Nice try, Jack [Jackson B. Tinsley, editor and vice president of the Fort Worth Star-Telegram]. [*Laughter*] Go ahead.

Q. That is the longrunning Ethics Committee investigation of House Speaker Jim Wright. The Washington Times reported this morning that the findings of this committee would be turned over to the Justice Department for investigation of possible Federal law violations. And also, there is a belief by some in Texas that since the rejection of John Tower as your first nominee for Secretary of Defense, that there might be an attempt by the Republican Party to retaliate against Speaker Wright. Would you comment on that, please?

The President. Well, let me comment on the last part first, and I know of no such retaliatory action. I think it would be impossible to do anyway. And it would be wrong, and certainly I would condemn anyone in our administration that had any hand in anything of that nature. Secondly, there is nothing in this ethics package—when I call for an even playing field—Congress, executive branch, and judicial branch do have the same standards that should in any way, directly or indirectly, be interpreted as intervening in the matter now before the House Ethics Committee. And surely, Jack—and I know there's this interest, particularly in your area and in my State. And I think it's wider than that now in the matters that are going forward there. But the last thing I want to do is involve myself in any way. And please believe me, there is no—on my view, I answered the first question as frankly as I could about the John Tower matter. But in terms of getting even or something of that nature by unfairly intervening into a process that is now being handled by the Ethics Committee in the House, I simply wouldn't condone that at all, and I would condemn it. So, I want to separate out what's happening there from this package, and certainly, in response to your question, from any politics of retaliation because of my view that the Tower matter was not handled the way I would like to have seen it handled.

Oliver North

Q. At this point in time, would you call Ollie North a real American hero?

The President. Anybody that gets a Purple Heart and sheds his blood fighting for his country deserves to be called an American hero. And it was in that context that I made those claims, and in that context that I will repeat them. And the last thing I want to do is intervene in that matter that is now before the courts. But that's how I feel about those who risk their lives to save this country.

Texas

Q. In view of the fact that there's a program on the table to put a space establishment in Houston and the supercollider is going to be built in Jack's backyard, or has been selected to be built in Jack's backyard, and two or three of the top administrative officials are from Texas, is there a real backlash developing because of that? We saw the Georgia Mafia. We saw the California Mafia talked about by the press. Is this going to happen? And is it going to hurt your program?

The President. No. [*Laughter*] No, we've made appointments that are excellent in my view, men and women of standing. And the fact that some of them come from my home State—hey, what's wrong with that? And the supercollider decision was made by President Reagan. It's a good decision. I want to support it. The space center was made by—I guess when President Johnson was in office, or maybe under President Kennedy—I'm not sure. And it should have strong support. But I don't see any risk of backlash at all, provided you get people that measure up. And that's what I'm trying to do.

Q. Mr. President, I apologize. I've neglected the far left, which some would say is out of character for me. [*Laughter*]

The President. Note that he said that, not I. [*Laughter*] Go ahead.

Alaskan Oil Spill

Q. Mr. President, I live and work in a State with a 2,500-mile coastline, a coastline that includes an oil terminal as well as the

village of Kennebunkport. I'm wondering why it took so long for the Government to move on the Alaskan oil spill. Why didn't the Government, the Federal Government, move more boldly, more quickly to clean up the spill?

The President. I think the Federal Government moved much more quickly and more boldly than it gets credit for. I consider the United States Coast Guard a part of the United States Government. And the Coast Guard moved very rapidly. What we did not want to do—and I'm convinced now, even in retrospect, that this decision is correct—was to relieve the Exxon Corporation of its liability by federalizing. And when I promptly sent our able EPA Administrator [William K. Reilly] and our head of the Coast Guard, Admiral Yost, and Sam Skinner, the Secretary of Transportation, up there, they came back with the unanimous recommendation that federalizing wasn't appropriate. The Federal assets—we have moved forward now on the cleanup. The first was containment, and now it's mainly in the cleanup phase, although there still are some containment problems.

Subsequently—and maybe I should accept some criticism on whether I should have done this a week before we did, or something of that nature; I'm giving you the reasons—but I think that the Federal Government is properly involved, but we should not have done what some are urging upon us: federalize that whole cleanup. And you know, it's a tough one. I do know the corner of the Maine coast you're talking about and something about the pristine nature of Prince William Sound. And I do have a great concern about the environment. I want to do better. I want to do better and set higher standards in the environment. But I also happen to believe that the national security needs of this country are served by having a production offshore and by producing oil from the North Slope. And it is awful hard to guarantee against a contingency in a 10-mile-wide channel after thousands and thousands and thousands are—put it millions of barrels have gone through there safely, and now, apparently, what human error seems to have cause this aberration. It's hard to have a contingency plan against that.

And the other day, they asked me about that and said—well, you know, because there were some saying, "Well, you ought to shut down the oil coming out of Prince William Sound, coming out of the Port of Valdez." And I said, "Well, to guarantee against what happened, should shut down all the production off of Louisiana and Texas?" I'm not sure I understand the difference. And I think we have got to do everything we can to learn from this. We've got to do everything we can to have a plan that is based not on a third of this bill but on the totality of this bill in terms of recovery. But I simply do not want this disaster to—this isn't all your question, but projecting a little—to weaken the national security interest by making us further and further dependent on foreign oil. We're about up to 50 percent now, and that is not a good enough standard. So, let's learn from this; let's do better in protecting the environment. If there's a lesson here that one agency or another might have moved faster, I will be the first to learn from that. But we've got to keep a certain perspective.

And I am very pleased that the Federal Government is as involved as it should be now. I also would like to see more volunteers involved. And therein, I would make a pitch for strong support for revision of our liability laws. Some, I am told, in volunteer groups, are kept from helping out—maybe not on this one but in many other areas—because of the fear—outrageous liability claims. So, this is a good—we can maybe learn that much from this disaster up there. But I think maybe we should take some blame. But I think we've had prudent action, and I hope it's been timely.

Iran Arms and Contra Aid Controversy

Q. Mr. President, when the North trial is over, will you tell the American people if you were the so-called discreet emissary sent to Honduras during the Iran-*contra* affair and, if you were, give a full accounting of what you did there?

The President. I think I've given a full accounting. I would refer you, sir, to what, incidentally, in today's paper, to what was said by Ambassador Negroponte [U.S. Ambassador to Mexico] and also Tony Motley

[former Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs], who sat in on that meeting. And having said that, every attorney that advises the President has advised me not to do something that inadvertently would cause a mistrial or would disturb the process that is underway. And so, I don't like reading charges that I happen to feel are untrue, but I have to stand on that. And that just goes with the territory. And I am confident that the process that has gone on, and the process that undoubtedly will go on after this trial is over, will say that anything I have heretofore said is correct. But I do not want to be pushed into doing something for self-aggrandizement that would be ruled by some judge to have aborted a trial that is underway.

Well, thank you all very much.

Note: The President spoke at 1:35 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the J.W. Marriott Hotel. He was introduced by John Seigenthaler, president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

Remarks at the Annual Congressional Fire Services Institute Dinner

April 12, 1989

The President. Members of the fire service community and ladies and gentlemen and friends, what a wonderful evening this is. Let me say, it's a great privilege to be, as Yogi Berra might say, in such extinguished company—[*laughter*]—all fired up. [*Laughter*] I want to thank you, though, for that warmth of your reception here and for your kindness. And let me just first congratulate some who are responsible for this first, massively successful event. I'm referring, of course, to the International Associations of Fire Chiefs and Fire Fighters, the International Society of Fire Service Instructors, the National Fire Protection Association, the National Volunteer Fire Council, and the Volunteer Firemen's Insurance Services. And I want to also salute the individual representatives of the fire service community and then the members of the Congressional Fire Service Caucus, now the third-largest, I believe, technically. But if I know Congressman Curt Weldon, you're going to be number one. Let me salute the members of Congress that are gathered here, and particularly singling out not only the firefighter's best friend, Congressman Curt Weldon—he talked about a sleeping giant awakened; you try sleeping—[*laughter*]—with Curt Weldon on your case, giving you a hot foot—but Congressman Doug Walgren here and Sherry Boehlert on this side here at the head table. I single them out for their special leadership and interest in the affairs that bind us all together tonight here.

And finally, I want to say that you've chosen a wonderful time of year to hold this first annual Congressional Fire Services Institute dinner. After all, just think of it. Spring is in the air. Washington is alive with visitors. Baseball's Orioles are still in the pennant race—something we couldn't have said last year at this time—[*laughter*]—the season's a week old. [*Laughter*] Our dog has had her puppies. [*Laughter*] And my wife got a nice clean bill of health today out of Walter Reed Hospital.

So, we meet together in a special week, for this is Volunteer Week, a time which celebrates the selfless character of the American people. And looking toward tonight, I was struck by the fact that 85 percent of our nation's fire protection is indeed supplied by volunteers. And it occurred to me that both you and your paid colleagues—professionals—for both give time and of yourselves, provide the definition of a successful life. For any definition of a successful life, it seems to me, must include serving others. A successful life means that we're partners, not islands unto ourselves, the sum not of our possessions but of how we treat our neighbors. For more than 200 years, firefighters have been this nation's neighbor in word and deed, the backbone of America. And you've met local emergencies through volunteer and paid fire and emergency service networks. And today, you meet them still—three million members strong.

And you know, being here tonight reminds me of a story that I heard which happened back in Prohibition days. It seems that 25 of Boston's top bootleggers were rounded up in a surprise raid. And as they

NEW CHINA AND THE PRINTED PAGE

By Paul Hutchinson

"Sage with holy brow,
Say farewell to China now;
Live like the swine,
Leave off your scholar-gown!
This city of books is falling, falling,
The Empire of China is crumbling down."

SO VACHEL LINDSAY depicts the warning that came to Confucius when, more than two thousand years ago, he walked the beach of Shantung, in the land "where books are made like bricks and tiles." But the message of Lindsay's poem is that the land of books will outlast any other, and that

"China will fall,
The Empire of China will crumble down,
When the Alps and the Andes crumble down;
When the sun and the moon have crumbled down."

It may be that the American poet is right. It may be that China possesses the world's one lasting civilization. It may be that ten thousand years from now the books and bookworms that have caught Lindsay's imagination will still be in placid possession of a vast portion of the Asiatic mainland. It may be.

SYMBOL OF NEW CHINA IS THE CYLINDER PRESS

But there are bound to be changes, subtle differences in spirit, between the China of Confucius and the China of the future. These changes are already appearing. In most cases they are not as spectacular as the shift from Manchu dynasty to republic, but they go farther beneath the surface of things and they will mean more. They are the true New China.

Probably the clearest indication of the kinship between Old and New China is the place given literature. Old China venerated the printed page; New China depends upon it for success.

If the symbol of Old China was the examination halls, where the students of the twenty-one provinces (the three eastern provinces of Manchuria coming under the same system) sought official preferment by writing essays in the accepted classic form, then the symbol of New China is the whirling cylinder press, which sends out its millions of pages each year to every part of the country.

Until he has actually lived in their midst, it is almost impossible for the Westerner to appreciate the position which literature holds in the minds of the Chinese—nine in every ten of whom can make no pretense of reading the classical language.

Since the Golden Age of Greece, the Occident has known nothing like it. In the Middle Ages learning was confined to a monkish minority, but it was a minority that the mass of men rather despised in their hearts. In China the scholar has always despised all others. And he always will.

Since the days of the sages it has been the duty of a Chinese to preserve from destruction any scrap of paper bearing a written message. In many cities boxes are provided in which may be placed character-bearing papers rescued from the streets (see illustration, page 689).

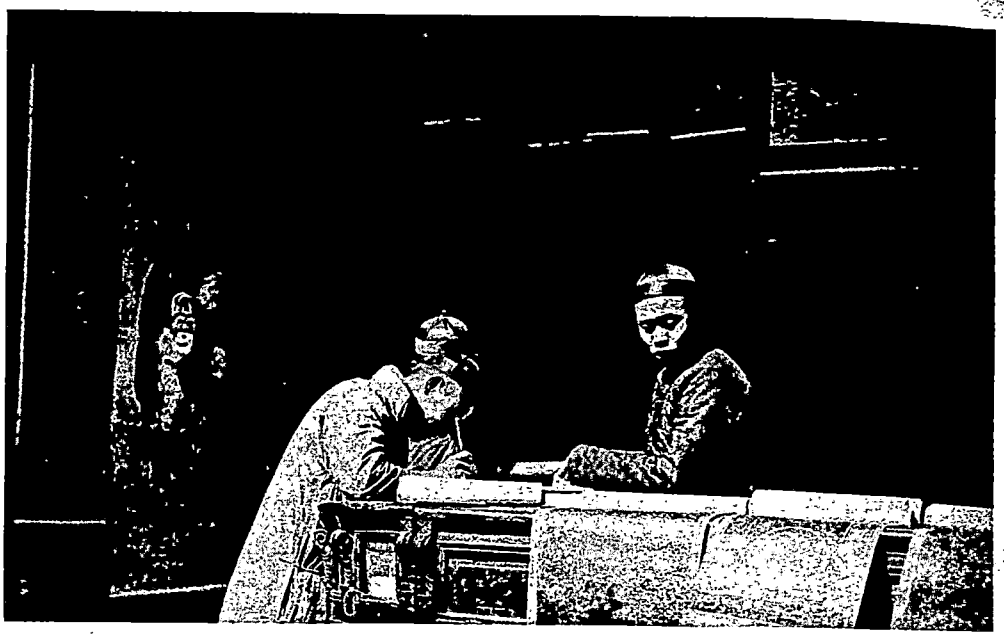
One enterprising Japanese liver-pill concern has erected thousands of waste-paper boxes, and the gatherer of merit who brings his retrieved bit of salvage to their guardianship must look into the face of the ubiquitous admiral who advertises the benefits of the "Benevolent medicine."

Rich men may add to the merit of their other good deeds by employing the poor to go about this business of waste-paper rescue.

I have seen a ragged wretch shave death before a tramcar by inches in order that he might grasp a fluttering bit of newspaper that probably extolled the merits of some guaranteed consumption cure. With the scrap secure, he tucked it into a wooden box, built to protect a rain-pipe, doubtless mistaking it for a receptacle specially designed for his pious purpose.

A SCHOLAR DEFEATED CHINA'S FIRST PRESIDENT

Not but that China has had her iconoclasts. Shih Hwang-ti (also spelled Chin Shih Huang Ti), the emperor who founded the Chin dynasty and built the



Photograph by Charles H. Kragh

A SCROLL AND PICTURE SHOP OF SHANGHAI

The Chinese venerate learning, and the walls of their living rooms and studies are often covered with scrolls upon which have been written excerpts from their classics. Such scrolls and water-color paintings are sold at street shops where, in some instances, the proprietors cannot read.



THE RED TRIANGLE PROCLAIMS ITS MESSAGE TO CHINA

The Association has taken its program of threefold development into many parts of China and has been especially active among the students. These posters are announcements of its activities and program, and also illustrate how, contrary to popular belief, the Chinese language may be written laterally as well as vertically.



Photograph by Paul Hutchinson

A WAYSIDE SHRINE TO THE WRITTEN WORD

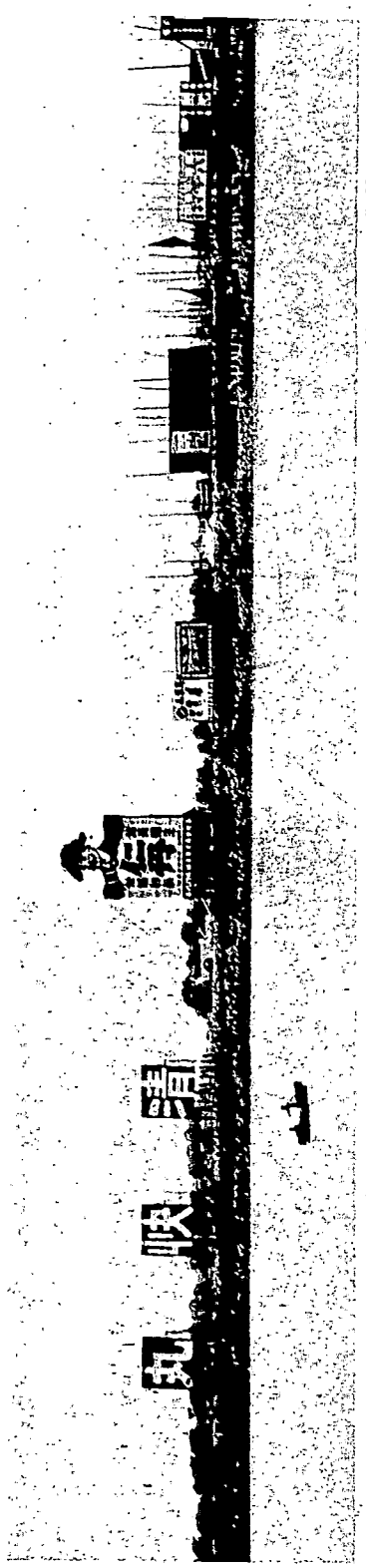
There is in excess of 90 per cent illiteracy in China, but the unlearned masses reverence the written word. Since the days of the sages it has been the duty of a Chinese to preserve from destruction any scrap of paper bearing a written message. In many cities boxes such as this are provided in which may be placed character-bearing papers (see text, page 687).



Photograph by Maynard Owen Williams

FASCINATED BY THE PRINTED PAGE

The circulation figures of a Chinese newspaper are not a fair record of the number of its readers. Many get their news free, from the bulletin boards, while copies of the paper are also passed on from reader to reader, selling a trifle cheaper with each transfer, until they are so worn and ragged as no longer to be legible.



Photograph by R. N. Vanderburgh

A LINE OF SKYSCRAPING BILLBOARDS MAKES SHANGHAI AND NEW YORK KIN

Save for the difference in language, a stranger approaching Shanghai by river might well think himself crossing the Jersey flats that lead into America's metropolis, for much of the scenery is hidden by rows of billboards advertising patent medicines, tobaccos, and various articles of household use. The admiral of the central poster is extolling the virtues of a widely used Japanese liver pill (see text, page 687).

Great Wall,* evidently believed the cult of literature a menace to the country, for he carried through a book-burning and execution of scholars on a scale exceeding the best efforts of the Vandals. Even in these latter days, whatever the theory, the facts have frequently suggested that the sword was considerably mightier than the ink-brush. But not always.

There was, for example, the case of Yuan Shih-kai and Liang Chih-chao. All the world knew Yuan. He was the Strong Man of China and the first permanent (comparatively speaking) president of the Republic. He had a model army at his back and the support of powerful foreign interests. If ever a general seemed to have a country firmly in his grasp, it was Yuan Shih-kai.

Yuan Shih-kai dreamed the dream of many another military despot. He dreamed of a dynasty with himself and his sons and his sons' sons on the Dragon Throne. The stage was carefully set for the coronation, the usual forms of Oriental coyness had been complied with, the last vestige of republican government seemed to have been wiped out, when Liang Chih-chao arose to address the nation.

Mr. Liang is a scholar. He had no army, but he has the best Chinese style of any living writer. He set down a few burning thoughts on the usurpation of government, and since it was exceedingly unsafe to refer directly to Yuan, and bad form withal, Mr. Liang confined himself to pointing out the horrible example of the then President Diaz of Mexico.

The Chinese admired the style; they caught the point; the pamphlet on the shortcomings of Porfirio Diaz became a best seller, and the dynastic dream of Yuan was shattered. The blow killed him.

Of course, that is an extreme example. Pamphlets are still being published in China; some of them are exceedingly clever and exceedingly pointed; but it is hard to discern that many of those at present in authority are being turned from their ways by the influence of these

* See "A Thousand Miles Along the Great Wall of China," by Adam Warwick, in the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE for February, 1923.



Photograph from Paul Hutchinson

EDITING THE MISCELLANEOUS OUTPUT OF THE COMMERCIAL PRESS OF SHANGHAI

The range of subjects of the books this company publishes runs the gamut of ethics, politics, economics, history, geography, science, mathematics, languages, manual training, dictionaries, etc. This necessitates the employment of a large and talented editorial staff, and many famous men have from time to time held positions on it (see text, page 719).



Photograph from Paul Hutchinson

ONE OF SANTA CLAUS' CHINESE BRANCHES

The versatile Commercial Press of Shanghai (see text, page 719) has invaded the toy-making field and maintains a large manufacturing department employing many nimble-fingered girls. The Chinese are adept toy-makers, but the great mass of their own children are too poor to have them, and the youngsters of America and Europe benefit most by their cleverness and skill.

screeds. And yet, at this moment, the movement that holds out the most hope for the future is largely literary and finds the fountain of its energies in a university.

CHINA HAS OLDEST NEWSPAPER IN THE WORLD

China boasts the oldest newspaper in the world. From a journalistic standpoint, it is probably also the worst, since the Peking Gazette is nothing but a collection of presidential mandates, decrees of appointments, and lists of honors. Until the fourth decade of the last century, China knew no other paper. The court bulletin, for such it was, held such a monopoly of the field as the late Viscount Northcliffe never attained in England.

Then translations into Chinese from the Hongkong foreign papers, made at the suggestion of Wu Ting-fang, former Chinese Minister to the United States, marked the beginnings of what is modern Chinese journalism.

The first regular newspaper to be established was probably the *Shun Pao*, which is still published in Shanghai and is the most successful paper in China. This journal was established in 1872, and was rapidly followed by the *Hu Pao*, the *Sin Wan Pao*, and other dailies, many of them under foreign control.

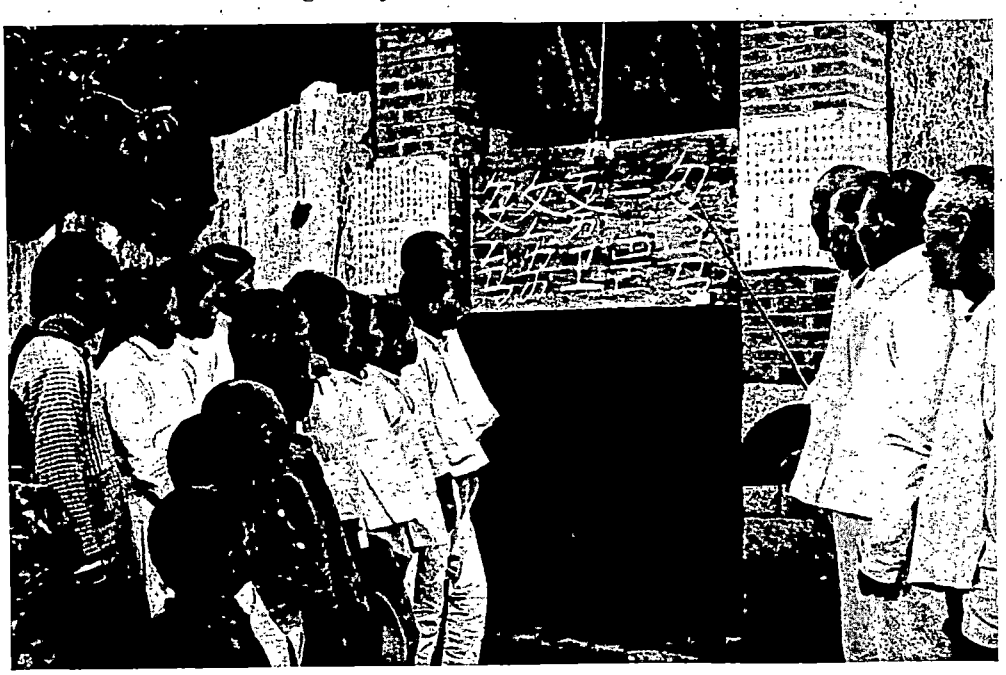
The influence of newspapers published by foreigners must be acknowledged in



Photograph by J. T. McGarvey

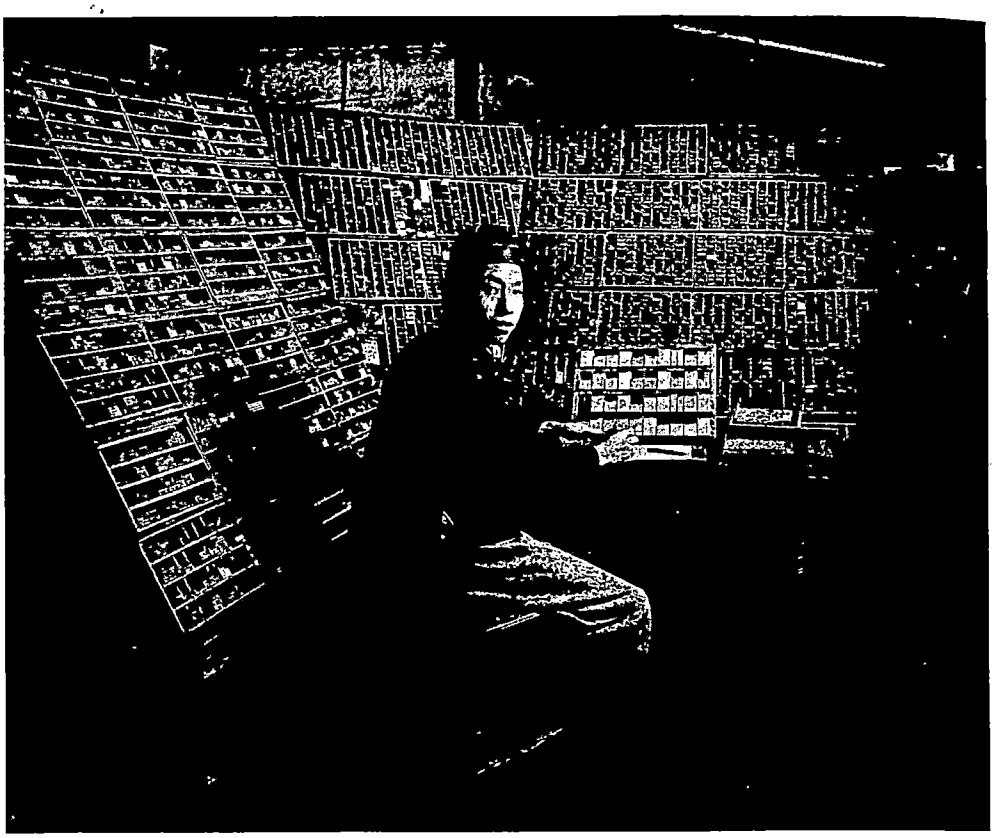
TAKING A LESSON IN BRUSHMANSHIP

Chinese characters are made with a fine brush instead of with a pen, and the children have to begin early to learn their intricate designs.



LEARNING THEIR LANGUAGE ALL OVER AGAIN

The written, or classical, Mandarin Chinese language contains thousands of characters, which makes its mastery an extremely difficult achievement. To remedy this situation and make possible a written language for the education of the masses, a new and much simpler phonetic script has been evolved from some of the root characters of the Mandarin (see text, page 719).



Photograph from Paul Hutchinson

A BAD PLACE FOR A PRINTER'S DEVIL

The ideograph cases in a Chinese printing office contain thousands of character types, and it is a diverting sight to see a Chinese typesetter darting about the room like a dragon fly, in frenzied efforts to meet the editorial demands. A case of the small new phonetic script, consisting of 39 symbols, is here shown (central background), set beside a case of the large, cumbersome old-style type. The Chinese first used movable type more than a thousand years ago, the characters being cut in plastic clay, hardened by fire, and set in an iron frame partitioned off by strips.

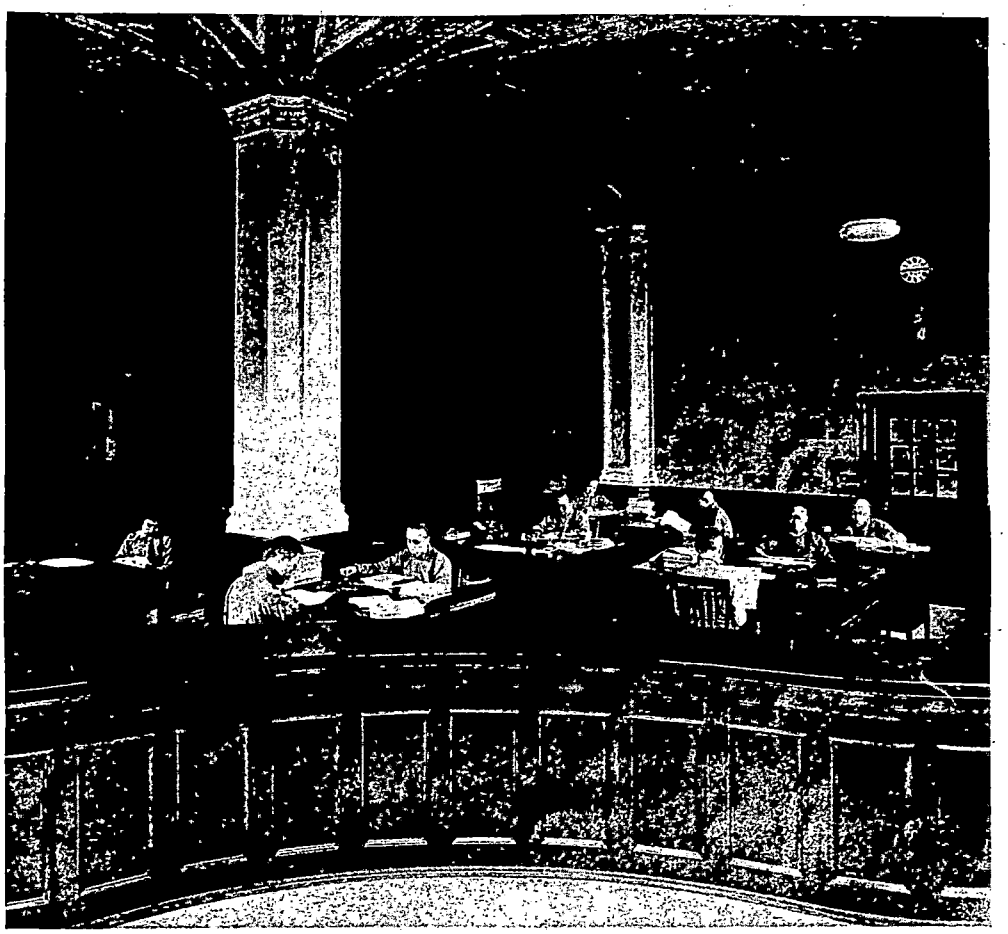
studying the reasons which led to the founding of these Chinese papers. In 1827 Mr. James Matheson began to issue the *Canton Register,* and from this there has grown a body of periodicals that includes daily newspapers, weekly and monthly reviews, commercial organs, humorous and illustrated papers, and magazines dealing with scholarly questions concerning the life of the country.

CHINESE JOURNALISM BEGAN IN FOREIGN-CONTROLLED CITIES

Many of these papers have been edited by missionaries, who must be regarded as forerunners of the new journalistic day in China. At present the most influential are those published in English, but there are other papers printed in French, Russian, Japanese, Italian, and Portuguese.

Chinese journalism began its career in the port cities, particularly those under foreign control. Consideration of the simple but effective method by which the Manchu dynasty censored the efforts of any who might not agree with it will suggest why this was the case. The Chinese editor might attack the imperialism which placed the "grasping nations of the West" in control of his country's richest ports, but he was generally careful to launch his attacks from beneath the protection of those same "usurpers."

For a long time this tended to give Chinese journalism a furtive character—an influence not yet wholly eradicated.



Photograph from Paul Hutchinson

THE BUSINESS OFFICE OF A LARGE SHANGHAI DAILY

Few Western papers can boast a finer home than that which houses this Oriental journal. Advertising, which for so long played only a very minor part in the development of the Chinese press, has now become an important source of revenue, and one prominent newspaper devotes more than three-fourths of its space to ads. Most of them set forth the supposed merits of patent medicines and competitive brands of cigarettes, but booksellers and theaters are also extensive advertisers.

The papers which sprang up in the ports were, like the secret societies which flourished there, weapons to attack the ruling powers.

They did not hesitate to resort to the use of outrageous innuendo and even barefaced falsification, besmirching the personal character and official record of those in authority. To this day it is, for example, difficult to winnow the facts concerning the character of the late Empress Dowager from the fabrications of the revolutionary editors of Shanghai and southwestern China.

The justification for such tactics is found in their success. The newspapers and pamphlets, through their sustained scurrility, completely undermined confidence in the reigning house—confidence which had been waning for more than half a century.

Since the Manchus had no conception of the uses of publicity, the revolutionists wielded that weapon alone. And the constant reiteration that the government was corrupt, which was only too true, emphasized by personal anecdotes, which were frequently untrue, finally achieved the desired result.

In the language of American business, the demand for a change was "sold" to the Chinese people.



Photograph by Maynard Owen Williams

NANKING'S CRUMBLING EXAMINATION HALLS SUGGEST A LITERARY STOCKYARD

Under the old régime in China, after a young man had received his bachelor's degree he was privileged to come to the provincial capital and take examinations for a master's degree. For hundreds of years the examinations were held in tiled sheds such as these, each aspirant being assigned a prisonlike cell and kept there in solitary confinement until he had finished writing the essays on Confucian philosophy which constituted the examination. Only those who passed this test might hold office in China's civil service until this strange system was abolished, in 1904.



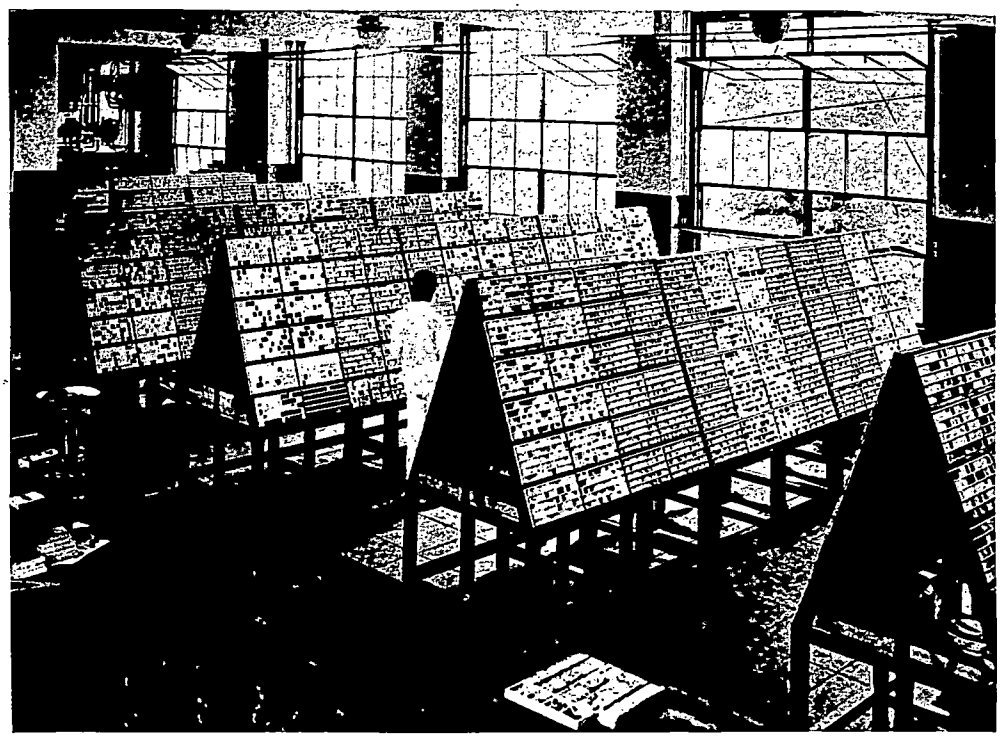
tion. Only those who passed this test might hold office in China



Photograph from Paul Hutchinson

ENGRAVING ON LITHOGRAPHIC STONE IN THE PLANT OF THE COMMERCIAL PRESS, SHANGHAI

The central publishing plant of this company is one of the wonders of China. It covers 20 acres of ground and employs about 3,000 men and women in its production activities. The firm has assumed a most enlightened attitude toward the welfare of its employees, with gratifying results (see text, page 719).



Photograph from Paul Hutchinson

THE COMPOSING ROOM OF A CHINESE NEWSPAPER OFFICE

Some sort of machine composition is all that China needs to make its newspaper-producing processes equal to those of Western lands. The new phonetic script (see, also, illustration, page 694) can now be set by machine, but so far no genius has come forward with a practical method of doing away with hand labor in setting up the thousands of ideographs of the old-style writing. It has been estimated that a Chinese typesetter has to walk 3 miles in order to set up one page of a newspaper in these characters.

Three events mark this development in China's journalism. In 1898 the Emperor Kwang Hsü, under the influence of the reformer Kan Yo-wei, issued the edicts of reformation which brought about the *coup d'état* by which the Empress Dowager, supported by the troops of Yuan Shih-kai, made the emperor a prisoner and resumed the policy of reaction.

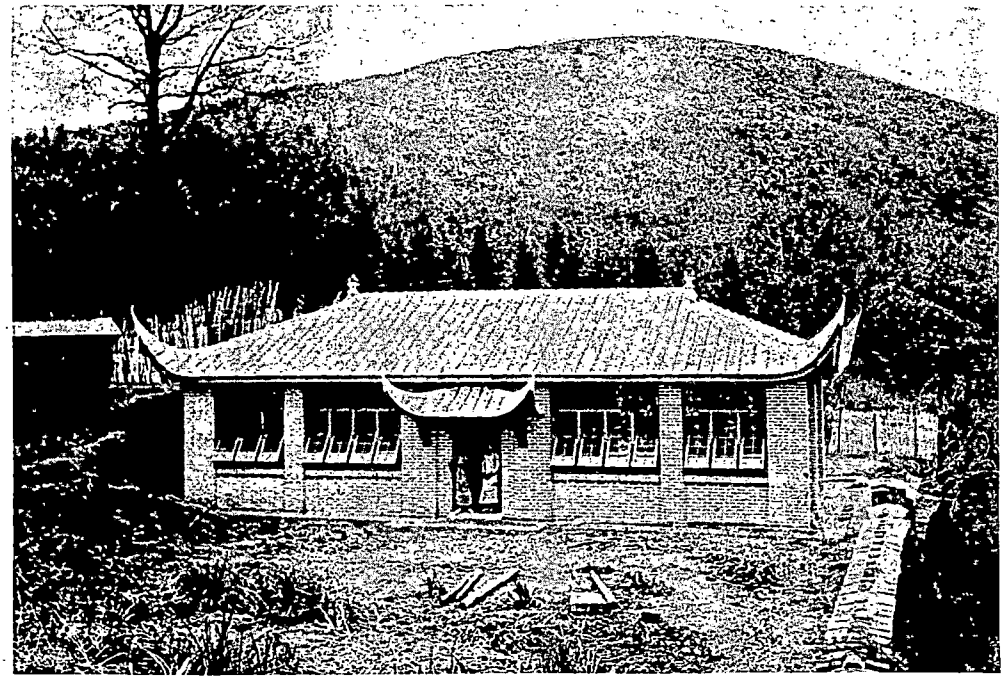
Balked of his designs in Peking, Kan Yo-wei fled to Japan, and from there led the journalistic agitation for revolution. The impetus for an independent journalism in China was supplied by the defeat of the reformers in 1898.

In 1900 the reactionaries were foolish enough to allow themselves to be tied up with the Boxer movement. The utter failure of that uprising gave the old régime its deathblow. Because the Manchus had lost face they had lost authority. From that moment the new forces could develop in comparative safety, and newspapers began to spring up all over the country.

REMARKABLE GROWTH OF PERIODICALS SINCE 1911

The revolution of 1911 removed the last of the barriers. To be sure, there are still practical difficulties in the way of the editor who wishes to speak his convictions concerning the shortcomings of the authorities; but since the establishment of the Republic there has been, at least theoretically, a free press, and Chinese journalism has grown in an amazing fashion.

The extent of this growth has not been appreciated in the West. A recent letter from the curator of the largest typographical museum and library in the United States asked for copies of every



Photograph by J. R. Trindle

WHERE THE RISING GENERATION GOES TO SCHOOL IN FUKIEN PROVINCE

The grade schools of China until recently were dark, unventilated, noisome holes; but a new era has come and this is a sample of the kind now being built.



Photograph by Nora Waln

PILGRIMS ON THE VOCAL ROAD TO KNOWLEDGE

All the children in a Chinese class study aloud, chanting rhythmically the words in their lesson. The teacher walks about the room, listening to first one and then another and correcting mistakes in pronunciation.

newspaper published in China, and ventured the opinion that there would not be more than a hundred of these.

When it is remembered that a quarter of a century ago there would hardly have been 50, it can be seen that the estimate was a natural one. But a recent report of the Directorate General of Posts shows nearly 1,200 periodicals registered in the various post offices for newspaper mailing privileges. And this number does not include those which have not yet satisfied the requirements of the department or did not desire, for political reasons, to register.

In the Republic the power of the printed page has been recognized from the beginning. In the days when there were political parties, each party set up its organ in the important cities, and these papers were conducted with all the bitterness that characterized the political journalism of an earlier day in America. In fact, the methods of these party-bound editors largely discredited Chinese journalism.

MANY CHINESE POLITICIANS EMPLOY PRESS AGENTS

Since the political parties largely disappeared, to be followed by combinations of military dictators and individual leaders, it has become the custom for these, likewise, to secure their journalistic representatives.

Most of the politicians now have in their employ what amounts to a press agent. The chief delegate of one of the parties in the Shanghai peace conference shortly after the World War outdistanced competition by securing a graduate of the Pulitzer School of Journalism to look after his interests. His opponent tried to counter by buying a newspaper, but the American press agent easily won the skirmish.

Many other forces are attempting to engage the attention of China to-day by the use of the printed page. From the beginning, the missionaries have used this method. The Roman Catholic priests are famed for their achievements in Chinese scholarship. The first Protestant missionary, Robert Morrison, devoted most of his time to literary work. Other famous pioneers, such as Young J. Allen and Timothy Richard, worked largely through periodicals and books. Several church papers have won a wide circulation. The China-for-Christ Movement, an interdenominational effort of large proportions, attempted to arouse the country with millions of bulletins. The proprietors of the biggest publishing house—one of the largest commercial enterprises in the country—testify to having received their training and inspiration from missionary publishers.

PRINTING PRESSES STREW THE LAND WITH ADVERTISEMENTS

The commercial invasion of China is largely depending upon the printing press. Tobacco companies sow the land with advertisements of their wares, and oil companies are just as eager in presenting the merits of their candles and their kerosene (see illustration, page 690).

The patent-medicine almanac is reaching a circulation never approached in America, and now the merits of chewing gum are beginning to be pressed home upon a people long deprived of this "boon."

In such a city as Shanghai, with several publishing plants of the first grade, the printers say that it is impossible to produce all the advertising material that foreign firms wish to distribute.

In the more intricate and dangerous game of international politics, the nations are equally awake to the importance of this method of propaganda. Naturally, in the land where even scraps of paper with printed or written characters upon them are objects of value, it is well to control such printing in so far as is possible.

During the early stages of the World War all the powers concerned made determined efforts to influence Chinese opinion in this manner, but little headway was made prior to the entry of the United States into the conflict. The Chinese remained unmoved, convinced that there was no essential difference between the two sides.

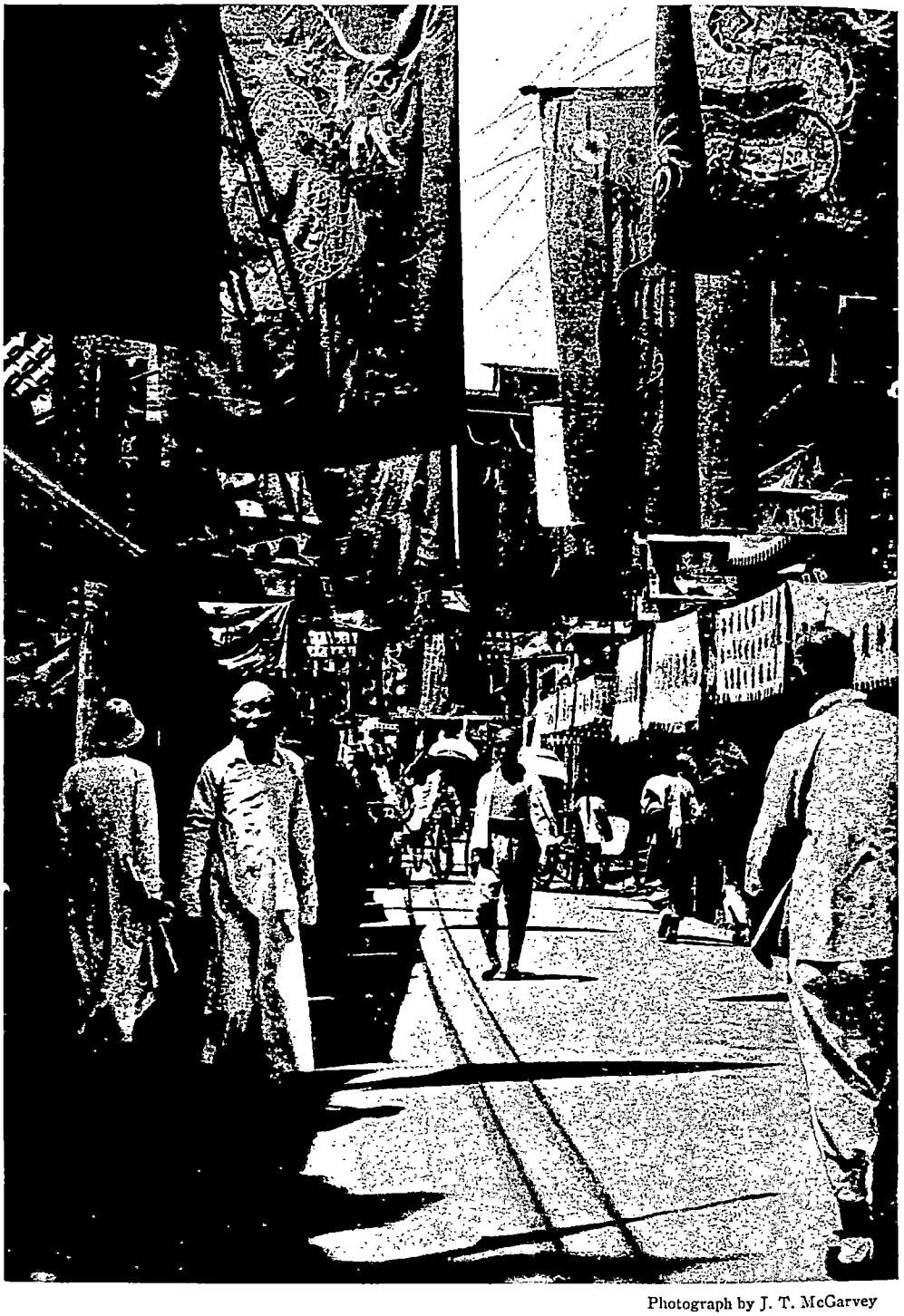
The story of the manner in which the American Committee on Public Information transformed Chinese opinion from neutrality or hostility to warm support of the purposes of the Allies is worth a separate article. The head of the bureau which was set up in Shanghai compiled



Photograph by E. L. Estabrook

THIS GIGANTIC DEITY GIVES COURAGE TO HER WORSHIPERS

Kwan Yin, the beloved Goddess of Mercy, is also known as the Taking-away-fear Buddha. She sits in the temple of Tafotse, near Pinchow, Shensi Province, beside the 65-foot statue of the Great Buddha, whose fingers and nails may be seen at the left. Both figures were carved from a red sandstone cliff, smoothed with plaster, then painted and gilded. The two men seated at the base of the statue of the goddess provide a "yardstick" by which to measure the mammoth proportions of the figure.



Photograph by J. T. McGarvey

WHEN THE EMPEROR RETURNED TO THE THRONE OF HIS FATHERS

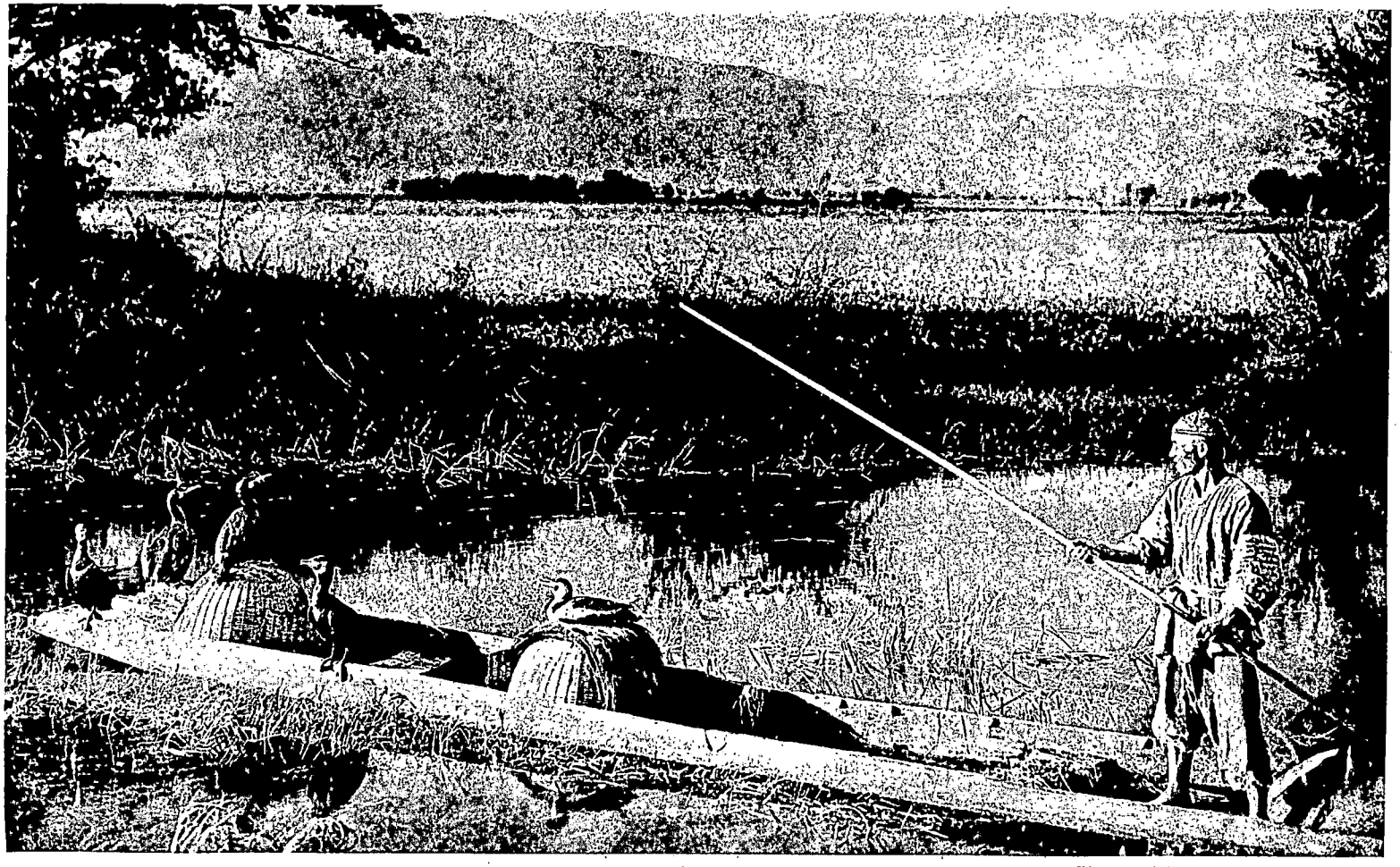
An attempt in July, 1917, to restore the monarchy gave the Dragon Throne back to the young Manchu emperor for a few days, after which he was once more consigned to the retirement of his "court without a kingdom." The Peking streets were appropriately bedecked in honor of the restoration. One of the many complicating factors in China's efforts to find herself as a united nation is that provincial loyalty has been highly developed.



Photograph by Maynard Owen Williams

SHIPPING CROWDS THE MIN RIVER AT FOOCHOW

This treaty port of Fukien Province was opened to European commerce in 1842, and eleven years later the first cargoes of tea that were to make it famous sped across the ocean to America and Europe. The Min here is congested with junks, upriver craft, and sampans. Bandit activities have at times interfered with the junk traffic by causing the local military leaders to commandeer vessels and impress the boatmen into service.



Photograph by Dr. Camillo Schneider

FISHING WITH BIRDS ON THE RICE PLAINS

Cormorants have long been used in China as fishers and are specially trained for the work. They are taken out to a suitable fishing place in a boat, made to dive into the water after a fish, and to bring the catch back to their owner. A cord around the bird's throat prevents it from swallowing the fish.



Photograph by Alexander Stewart

COOLIE "HORSEPOWER" IS THE CHEAPEST COMMODITY IN HONGKONG

Man is the dray horse, the pack animal, the beast of burden, yet he drudges cheerfully for long hours at a meager wage, and his lowly efforts have contributed largely to the prosperity of the treaty ports. In bad weather he slips on a raincoat of palm leaves and covers his head with an umbrellalike hat of bamboo, painted bright blue.



BASEBALL CAPTAINS IN A HIGH SCHOOL FOR CHINESE GIRLS AT CANTON

All of the 7,000,000 students of both sexes in the schools of China are potential recruits to the task of rebuilding the nation. Of the young women who have thrown off old restrictions, many aid in increasing the influence of the printed page by working in the mechanical departments of printing plants, translating foreign works, and writing textbooks.



Photograph by Robert F. Fitch

THESE CANTON CRAFT HAVE NURSERY COMPARTMENTS

During bad weather the mats rolled up on deck will be spread over the boat. In the center is a large earthen jar which ordinarily contains hot water for tea and cooking. The lattice work in the rear enables a child to play without danger of falling into the stream. Modern kerosene lamps lend a touch of the Occident to these unique craft.



© Herbert G. Ponting

THE "COMMISSARIAT" CAMEL IS THE LONG-HAUL TRANSPORT OF NORTH CHINA

From the truck gardens, orchards, and mines 40 to 60 miles outside of Peking, files of these shaggy beasts plod in with their loads of vegetables and fruit, coal and charcoal. They usually have no return load, but sometimes take back a pile of grass mats, clothing, or other city products. Occasionally a dusty caravan stalks in from Kalgan, just inside the Great Wall, with a cargo which has been relayed through the desert. Just above the first camel appears the hooded Peking cart, the type of conveyance used by the more well-to-do classes of the city and surrounding villages.



Photograph from Claude Meacham

HEADS OF OUTLAWS POSTED ON A BILLBOARD AT NANKING

The Chinese consider that the worst form of death is to be beheaded, but if the condemned man faces his execution with contempt and lack of fear, he stands a somewhat better chance of appeasing the anger of his gods. The crime of which these men were convicted was theft.



THE NEW WOMAN IN CHINA GOES TO SCHOOL

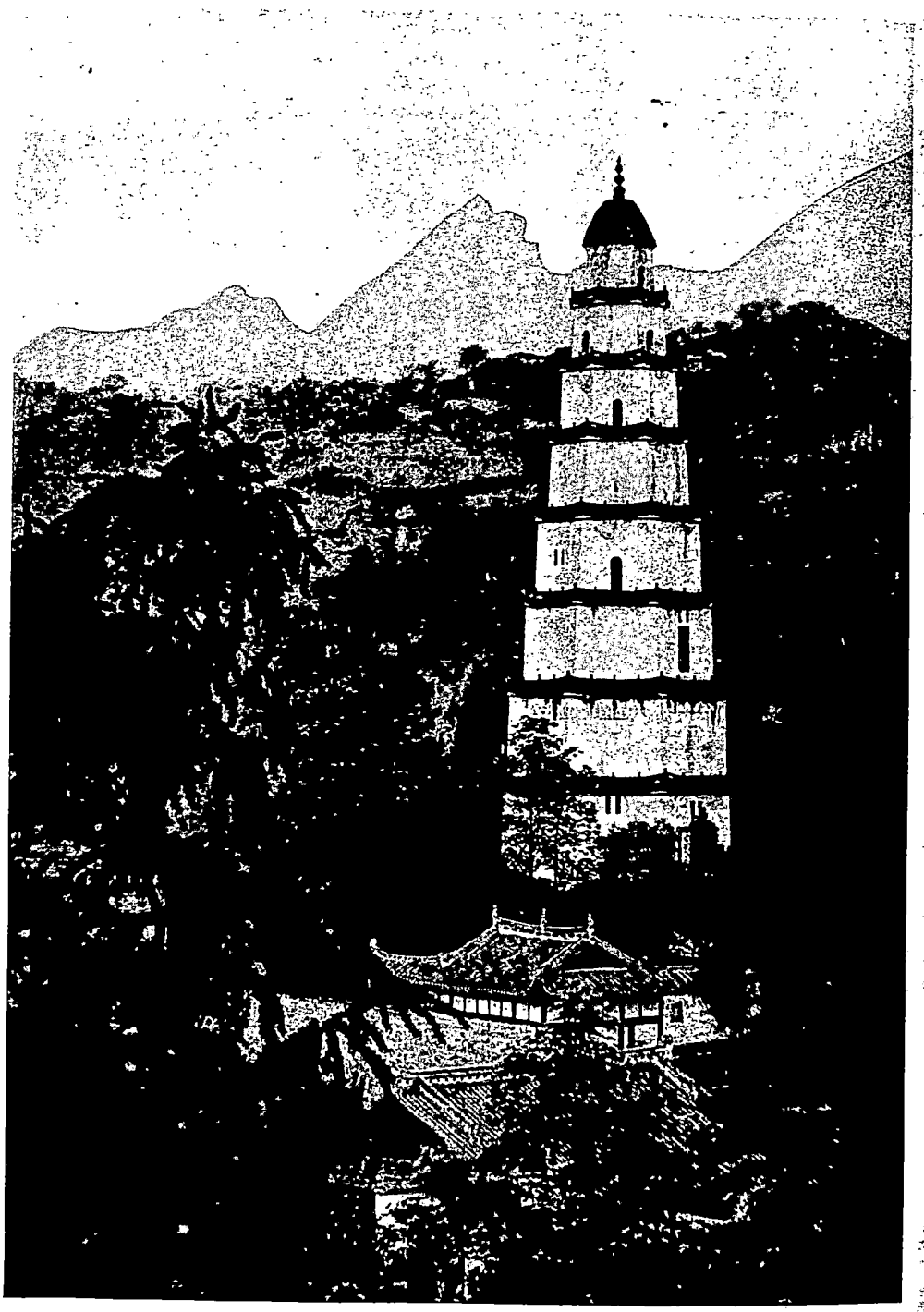
She is as yet small in numbers, but increasing in influence, many of those trained in mission schools and abroad having found opportunities to use their knowledge and abilities in business, professional, and social life.



Photograph by Robert F. Fitch

JUNKS OF THE FISHING FLEET AT ABERDEEN ISLAND, BACK OF HONGKONG

Nets and clothing are hung out to dry in the sun. The high poop in the stern of the junk and of many river craft enables the pilot to have a clear view of the boat's path, and to know what his men are doing. It brings the center of gravity to the rear, so that when the boat strikes a wave, it readily rises to the crest.



Photograph from Joseph Beech

A PLAYGROUND FOR AN INLAND SEAPORT

The Pagoda of Chiaolinsz, in the mountains opposite Chungking, is more often frequented by picnickers than used for strictly religious purposes, its park furnishing a recreation outlet for the city's crowded population. Chungking is the treaty port for Szechwan Province (see "The Eden of the Flowery Republic," in the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE for November, 1920) and is 1,400 miles from the mouth of the Yangtze.



Photograph by Sidney D. Gamble

A WELL-TO-DO CHINESE WOMAN WATCHES A PARADE IN THE FORBIDDEN CITY

A servant is standing in the background holding a brass hand-warmer filled with glowing charcoal, for use in case her mistress' ungloved hands should become chilled. Note the elaborately embroidered robe and the constricted feet. The chances are that the lady's spectacles were obtained not from an oculist, but at a fair, where one pair of glasses after another was tried until one was found that seemed to improve the vision.



Photograph by A. Segers

IN THE TAVERNS OF NORTH CHINA MEALS ARE SERVED ON TOP OF THE FURNACE

The heating plant, or *kang*, is a masonry platform 10 feet or more in length, 6 feet wide and 2 feet high. At mealtimes small, low tables are placed upon it, and at night numerous mats convert it into a warm, hard bed for family and guests (see illustration on opposite page).



Photograph by A. Segers

THE NATIVE CHINESE'S EQUIVALENT OF "ROOM WITH BATH"

There are no beds in the small inns, only the *kang*, a stone bed hot on the surface. If a man is rich, he supplements the mat bedding with the skin of a dog, a wolf, or a fox. The coverlet is wadded in the winter. The cushions used for pillows are filled with millet and are very hard. While the queue has practically disappeared in many parts of China, it is still to be seen in country villages away from the coast. (See, also, "The Hairnet Industry in North China," in the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE for September, 1923).



Photograph by J. T. McGarvey

HE FRIGHTENS AWAY EVIL SPIRITS FROM TEMPLE GATES

Apart from ancestor worship, religion does not enter largely into Chinese life, but manifold superstitions based upon a belief in the good or evil influences of departed spirits exist everywhere. Confucianism is really a system of ethics, Taoism has developed into one of magic, while Buddhism has fallen from the lofty plane it once occupied.

lists of newspapers that would use a free press service and lists of prominent Chinese to whom might be sent important documents dealing with the war.

American Government wireless sent the speeches of President Wilson to the Far East, and for the first time the American point of view had an adequate presentation to the Chinese public.

The effect was magical. Even the failure of the Peace Conference to give actuality to the promises that were believed to be contained in the principles of Mr. Wilson did not wholly eradicate the effect of the work.

ONLY TWO SOURCES FOR CHINA'S NEWS SUPPLY

Another, and more dangerous, attempt to control Chinese opinion is to be seen in the domination of the news supply of the country. Generally speaking, the problem of public opinion is a problem of the control of the sources of news. The Chinese newspaper has passed the point where it can be a mere "journal of opinion." It must present *news*.

At the present time it is practically dependent upon two sources. One is that supplied by the Reuter Agency, a British company which has had a virtual monopoly since the elimination of the German service. This is the service used by the papers published in English, but it is too expensive for use by the majority of the Chinese papers. They can take advantage of it only by translating articles seen in the foreign dailies and reprinting them after their value as news has largely passed.

From an American standpoint, the value of the Reuter service is very limited, as the London office from which it issues is more interested in the results of a race run at Epsom Downs or the make-up of Lady Somerset's week-end party than in political or economic developments in the United States.

With Reuter's closed because of the high cost, the Chinese editor has practically only one other resource. He has to accept the news service offered by the Japanese. The rates are very low, and in some cases it is given free, when there is a reason for doing so. In more than 300 of the 450 daily newspapers published in China, this is the service used. To be sure, there are Chinese services, but these are still so undeveloped as to be unsatisfactory.

The Japanese, with their offer of cheap news, almost control the field.

The Students' Movement of China has relied for its influence upon two forces—the power of the press and the power of the voice. Student orators have lined the streets of the cities, telling the tale of the weakness and corruption of the central government, and papers and pamphlets have been used to penetrate where the voice could not.

More interesting is the so-called Renaissance Movement, which centers in the National University of Peking. A hundred years from now the historian may speak of this movement as the most potent force in the making of New China.

It is almost entirely a literary movement. Its purposes are not primarily political, as are those of the Student Movement; but they are more likely to change fundamentally the political order.

Essentially the Renaissance Movement is a revolt against authority. Old beliefs of all kinds are attacked—in the realm of religion, philosophy, social relations, and literature.

The outstanding figure is Dr. Hu Shih, a brilliant scholar, educated in America, whose fine ideals and untiring energies have aroused a response in every student center in China. Behind him stands Tsai Yuan-pei, formerly Chancellor of the National University, who, upon the advent of the Southern army into Shanghai a few weeks ago, was made the central head of the new civil government for the whole province. Practically all the faculty of this school is engaged in setting the purposes of the movement before the nation.

RENAISSANCE MOVEMENT ABANDONS OLD LITERARY FORM

In the realm of literature, a striking characteristic of the Renaissance Movement has been the abandonment of the literary form (Wen Chang) of the ancient classics, written by sages and used by famous writers of various periods, in favor of Kuo-yü, or colloquial speech. Only a scholar can write well in the lit-



Photograph from Paul Hutchinson

ANATOMICAL MODELS ARE AMONG THE PRODUCTS OF SHANGHAI'S LEADING PUBLISHING CONCERN

The increased interest in modern medical practices has created a demand from schools and students for these models, but Chinese physicians used other less elaborate ones long ago. Small ivory, wood, or bronze figures of the human body were employed by ailing ladies of the better class on which they might indicate to the doctor attending them where lay the seat of their trouble. Since he was not permitted to see the sick woman, she would thrust her hand through a curtain opening, so that he might feel her pulse, and would then lay her finger on that part of the figure that corresponded with the part of her own body that was affected.

erary form, which is too difficult for an ordinary student to understand.

Naturally, this innovation has been bitterly resented in some quarters. But a "History of Chinese Philosophy," written by Dr. Hu Shih in this simple but dignified style, largely in order to demonstrate its availability for any sort of writing, became China's best seller. And there are now some 300 periodicals—daily, weekly, and monthly, with a few single numbers—being issued in the same style and finding an eager reading. The battle to establish Kuo-yü in place of the Wen Chang seems almost won.

The most influential periodicals in China to-day are those issued by the Renaissance Movement. They have adopted the use of the spoken language at a time when there is a tremendous audience hungry for literature in that form.

It is not realized in the West that in China there is the largest national group speaking a single language—Mandarin—to be found. It is not realized that, even with 90 per cent of illiteracy, there is still a public of thirty millions able to read in Mandarin.

It is not realized that there are more than 7,000,000 students in the schools, all of them potential recruits to the cause championed by the Renaissance leaders. And the West knows very little about the efforts to increase even this large audience.

NEW FORM OF WRITING COMBATS ILLITERACY

As an example, consider the so-called national phonetic script and its promotion. Little has been printed about this in America. To read what some enthusiastic writers have written, one would think that China is being swept into a new form of writing which will wipe out illiteracy and the ancient ideographs within a few years. The fact is that the purposes of the national phonetic script are, primarily, different.

The national phonetic script was devised to provide a set of symbols by which it might be possible to teach Chinese in all parts of China to pronounce Mandarin in the same way. Communications are so difficult that pronunciations vary throughout the country, although fundamentally the language is the same, except in a few sections along the coast.

The second purpose of the promoters of the national phonetic script was, by the use of these symbols, to teach Mandarin where other dialects are now spoken.

The enthusiasm of the Chinese for the script has largely confined itself to these two purposes. It has been the missionary, with here and there an enlightened official, who has seized upon it as a means of combating illiteracy (see page 693).

Enthusiastic reports of foreigners as to the success of the national phonetic script need to be taken with a grain of salt. To the Westerner the conception of an alphabet of 39 symbols in place of more than 200 radicals (corresponding to Western alphabets), upon which all Chinese characters are based, seems bound to capture the support of anybody.

But it is going to take a long time to convince 400,000,000 people that the invention of a little group of reformers is better than the time-honored characters of the sages.

It is true that the phonetic is being pushed, especially by the missionaries. But there have been only a few thousands who have been, so far, taught to use it. In some future day it may come into its own, but the person who expects the national phonetic script to sweep the country in this generation is going to be disappointed. If all other objections were removed, the constantly repeated charge that it strongly resembles the system of the Japanese would be enough to hinder its progress at present. Nevertheless, it represents one of the attempts being made to secure an educated public opinion.

As for the efforts of some missionaries to push the writing of Chinese in Roman letters, it is enough to say that, except in certain small communities, the enterprise has made little headway.

A PUPIL'S BOOKS FOR ONE TERM COST ONLY SEVEN CENTS

For a sense of the importance of the printed page in New China the observer should consider the Commercial Press. Founded in 1896 by a small group of Chinese who had been trained in the foreign press of Shanghai, this concern has grown until it now has a paid-up



Photograph by Maynard Owen Williams

SOLDIERS ON THE MARCH EMPLOY A BRIEF BREATHING SPELL TO READ BILLBOARDS

capitalization of $5,000,000 Mexican, 34 branches and more than 1,500 agencies, and a central publishing plant which is one of the wonders of China.

The visitor who does not see the 20 acres of printing activity carried on by this concern in Shanghai is missing something as significant as the Temple of Heaven (see pages 691 and 697).

The employees in the production end of the business number about 3,000, with another 500 in outside concerns working under contract; the annual volume of sales is more than $5,000,000; the output runs the gamut of books on ethics, politics, economics, history, geography, science, mathematics, languages, manual training, dictionaries, and so on, and there are even departments that make anatomical and other models for school use and toys for the general public (pages 692, 718).

The firm is noted for the interest which it takes in the welfare of its employees.

The Commercial Press prints most of the textbooks of the students of the Republic. It prints them at a lower price than they can be purchased in any other country in the world, and thus it makes possible an education for millions of children in a country where the majority of the people are desperately poor.

A pupil in a government lower primary school can buy for seven cents all the books needed for a term. In a higher primary school the cost need be only 13 cents a term. Production on an immense scale makes such prices possible.

If the Commercial Press suggests the importance of literature in the New China, the *Shun Pao* may be used as an illustration of its stability. Hundreds of papers die an early death in China. This is inevitable in an industry as young as that of journalism; but the *Shun Pao,* with its 55 years of history, shows that the worthy papers are winning through to permanence. Its five-storied reinforced concrete office building challenges comparison with any American newspaper plant.

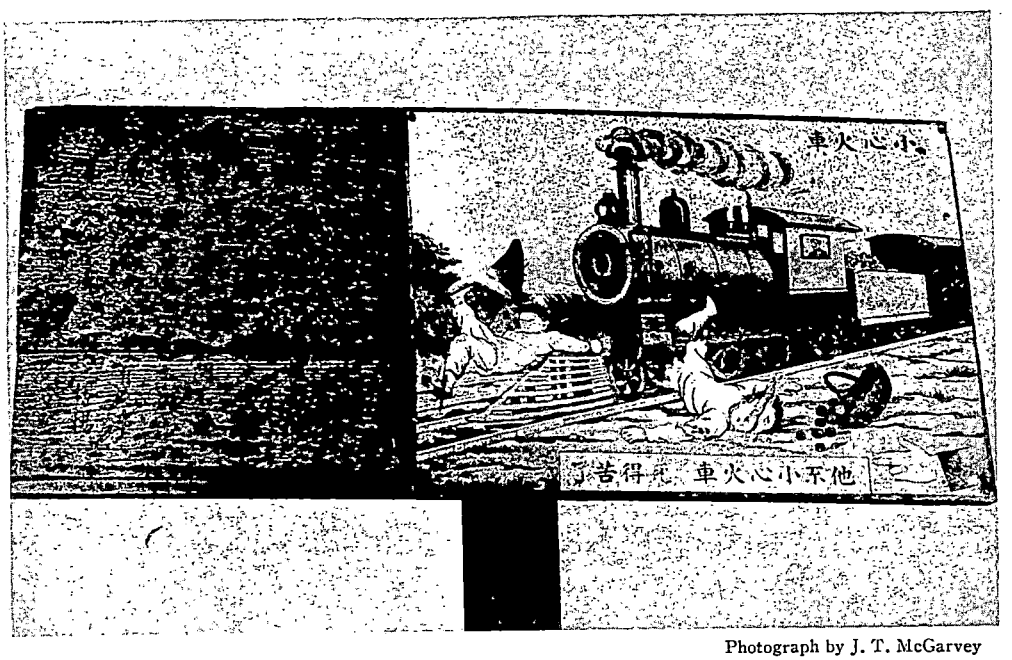
Its machinery is of the latest type, even to the rotary press which delivers 48,000 copies of a 12-page paper in an hour. The Western reader may be interested in one of its "Ten Great Features," as set forth by its business department:

> It is a fact that the foundation of a democratic government lies in political parties and public opinion, and the latter especially



Photograph by H. S. Eliott

A FOREIGNER DISTRIBUTES RELIGIOUS TRACTS IN A TOWN OF THE YANGTZE VALLEY



Photograph by J. T. McGarvey

A "STOP, LOOK, AND LISTEN" WARNING SIGN IN CHINA

With a population nearly four times as large as that of the United States, China has only about 3 per cent of the railway mileage of this country. Both the government and the people opposed the advent of the railways into the then "Celestial Empire," and the death of a coolie who was run over by the first engine caused such indignation among the populace that the local authorities forcibly purchased the road from its foreign owners, tore up the rails, and dumped them, together with the rolling stock, on the seashore of Formosa (Taiwan). This pictured accident should be a horrible object-lesson to speeding chair-carriers and ricksha men.



Photograph by Maynard Owen Williams

PREACHING THE GOSPEL BY POSTER

Poster publicity is not a new development in China, however. More than a thousand years ago certain retainers of the Imperial Court took advantage of their peculiar opportunities for securing interesting and authoritative information to set forth on placards the choicest titbits of news regarding the doings of the "King of Heaven." With these they paraded the streets of the capital, allowing the masses to peruse them. In modern times missionaries have found this method effective in setting forth their messages to the people. This poster is proclaiming to all who can read, the promise contained in the Gospel according to Saint John, 3: 16.

> should have an independent spirit. To attain this end, it is always the aim of this paper to lay special stress on industry and education. Its editorials are upholding justice and peace and its telegrams and correspondence are always based on true facts. It has never had any connection with any party; its business is entirely dependent upon its own regular income; and it has never received nor will ever receive any kind of subsidies.

If the Commercial Press shows the importance of the printing industry in the life of New China; if the *Shun Pao* shows its permanence, then *La Jeunesse* shows its power.

Here is a single monthly, published by the Renaissance Movement, dealing with subjects that the ordinary American reader would dismiss as "highbrow." But it is molding the character of tens of thousands of students to-day. I have found it being read as eagerly in the non-Mandarin-speaking regions of South China as in the north.

Of course, there are difficulties in the way of the new movement. There is the vast inertia of 270,000,000 people in Mandarin-speaking regions alone who are unable to read. There is the capricious censorship, whereby a political clique or an irresponsible general can clap into jail any editor or seal the doors of any paper that becomes too boldly critical.

With dangers without and within, the press of New China is working out its destiny. What that destiny will be depends largely upon the outcome of the present struggle between the reactionaries and the progressives. In fact, the fortunes of the periodicals are a part of that struggle.

If the progressives win out, the effort to substitute the colloquial language for the ancient Wen Chang as the means of expression seems likely to win. This may mean a unified national life under the salutary criticism of a true body of public opinion.

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HO FOR THE SOOCHOW HO

By MABEL CRAFT DEERING

MOST of the good ships of the P. and O. Line—those mystic initials which stood in the olden days for Peculiar Oriental Luxury—that is, most of the good ships of that line which were not torpedoed or mined during the World War, had been doing some trooping. That was why the *Dilwara*, rather small for P. and O. traditions, was delayed on a certain recent trip from Shanghai to Singapore, for she had made a little detour into Shantung Province, place of dreadful debate, after 500 mules for India.

Apparently it was a case of "First, catch your mule," as the little boat was quite belated; but it all turned out for the best, for had it not been for the mules that did not wish to be caught, we might never have known the delights of the Soochow Ho.

Now, the river at Shanghai is full of houseboats—so full that you could cross dry-shod, like the Israelites of old—but few there be among foreigners who ever inquire where these houseboats go or whether one could be acquired for a song in the proper key. Suffice it to say that prior to the present condition of civil war houseboats could be acquired, not, perhaps, for a song, but for a few notes, and thereby several days of delightful adventure might be secured.

GETTING SERVANTS FOR A HOUSEBOAT

Our boat had been named the *Nirvana* by some one with imagination, and never did three people surrender themselves with more abandon to the process of Celestial absorption.

"Catchee 'one-piece' cook, 'one-piece' coolie?" asked our friend's Number One boy, lent for the occasion. "Missy want amah?" (Chinese nurse).

Missy did not want amah, having just had a disastrous experience with one, but she did want one-piece cook and one-piece coolie and food for five days.

No trouble at all to secure a most admirable cook and a most painstaking coolie in this land of Housekeeper's Delight. The Number One boy just picked them like ripe apples from a tree. And such food! Legs of frogs and breasts of guineas and pheasants and caviar and sweet potatoes and pancakes Suzette and wonderful things in bottles on the ice. And all for a very moderate sum, less than the hotel charges for the same period, and doubtless plenty left over for the Number One boy himself.

"BECAUSE HIS MOTHER LOVED HIM"

By way of crew the *Nirvana* boasted two—the *laota*, or captain, and a sailor. The latter was an ugly creature, with cross-eyes and something terrible the matter with his nose and a silver ring in one ear. He looked as if he might have descended from Captain Kidd by a circuitous Cathay route. I was delighted with his earring; it was so in character and made him look like a lopsided Pirate of Penzance.

I could not see how he had escaped having it torn out in the brawls which had disfigured his countenance, and one day, after we had become rather close friends, I asked him through the interpreter, who was the bond between us, how he came

Nicaragua's La Prensa has long been a pivotal institution in the country. The 1978 murder of its publisher, Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, helped carry the Sandinistas to victory; its publisher since then, his widow Violeta Chamorro is now the country's president-elect.

Soon after the Sandinistas took power, the paper became a vocal critic of the regime and the Sandinistas reacted harshly. La Prensa came under heavy prior censorship in 1982 when the government imposed a state of siege; the daily was forced to close altogether in 1986.

Not until Esquipulas II peace accords were signed in 1987 did the paper reappear. By 1988, it was regularly on the streets, attacking the Sandinista government with fervor. Though La Prensa published without prior censorship, it was frequently harassed. Its journalists reported government-sponsored threats and attacks, and other forms of intimidation were common as well. For example, pro-government mobs known as "turbas" would show up at its offices, chanting slogans and menacing its employees.

In April 1988, a newsprint shortage forced the paper to stop printing for a week. La Prensa blamed the Sandinista government's policy of descrimination in allotment, and government officials refused to allow direct replacement shipments of newsprint from the United States.

During the election period that brought Ms. Chamorro to power, journalists at La Prensa reported an end to the previous type of harassment, but it was clear that the Interior Ministry continued to monitor the daily's every word.

El Espectador began exposing the ills of drug trafficking more than a decade ago, and it has paid a heavy price. On December 17, 1986, the paper's editor-in-chief, Guillermo Cano, was gunned down. Colombian courts ordered reputed drug kingpin Pablo Escobar to stand trial as intellectual author of the crime. El Espectador's lawyer in the case was murdered in 1989, just weeks after one of the court decisions.

At least 11 journalists were killed in Colombia in 1989, two of them from El Espectador. Many of those who were killed died in apparent retaliation for their anti-drug-trafficking stance. In September, just days after traffickers declared all-out war against the country's democratic institutions, a powerful bomb exploded at its Bogota office injured more than 80 people and caused about $2.5 million in damages.

Two of the paper's non-journalist employees were murdered in Medellin in October by "the extraditables." El Espectador was warned by the paramilitary group to stop circulating in the area.

The international press community rallied behind Colombia's battered press, sending more than a million dollars in aid to El Espectador and other media.

The Committee to Protect Journalists
Mrs. Caroline Drake

Prague, November 10, 1989

Dear Mrs. Drake,

we are moved by your support for Lidové noviny and its arrested editors, Jiří Ruml and Rudolf Zeman. It is for us of great moral importance. But we hope it will also have some practical influence. Solidarity both at home and abroad often helps to release people from prison without trial or at least to lower prison terms.

Your support helps us in our fight for freedom of expression and the right of journalists to work without interference. It is especially important now in Czechoslovakia, the last Center European country in which freedom of press is harshly violated and journalists are put in prison because of their responsible work devoted to the truth.

Yours sincerely

Jiří Dienstbier
Chairman of the Editorial Board
Lidové noviny

Jiří Dienstbier
Nekázanka 17
110 00 Praha 1
Czechoslovakia

COLOMBIA

N Four journalists were killed in Colombia between March and May 1989, bringing to at least eight the total number of journalists murdered there since the beginning of 1988 (see CPJ's *Attacks on the Press 1988*). Though the motives have not been clarified in any of the recent cases, information received by the Committee suggests that they may have been killed for reasons related to journalism. In at least two other cases, not listed below, journalists were killed for reasons apparently unrelated to their work.

HECTOR GIRALDO GALVEZ, a journalist and lawyer, wrote on judicial matters for the Bogota-based daily *El Espectador* and represented the daily in the case of Guillermo Cano, the *El Espectador* editor gunned down in December 1986 (see *CPJ Update #28*). On March 29, two assailants on a motorcycle shot Giraldo in his car as he waited at a stoplight in Bogota. According to *El Espectador*, one of the assailants then got down from the motorcycle, approached the car and shot the journalist five more times.

Giraldo's colleagues speculate that his efforts on the Guillermo Cano case may have been behind the slaying. Fifteen days before his death, he had won an appellate court battle against reputed Medellin Cartel boss Pablo Escobar, who has been accused of being the intellectual author of the Cano murder. The court decision reaffirmed an earlier order that Escobar stand trial for the Cano murder.

In late 1988, Judge Consuelo Sanchez-Duran, who issued the original warrant on murder charges against Escobar, had been forced to flee Colombia after she received death threats possibly linked to the warrant.

Less than one month after Giraldo's murder, radio reporter LUIS DANIEL VERA LOPEZ was shot in a pharmacy in Bucaramanga, in northern Colombia. Two men and a woman murdered both Vera and the store owner.

The motive for the April 22 killing is unclear. Reports from Bucaramanga suggest, however, that the journalist may have been killed for reporting he had done on paramilitary squads in the area. Vera covered judicial and other matters for Radio Metropolitana de Bucaramanga.

In May, two other journalists were taken from their homes in the southwestern city of Cali by unidentified assailants and later found dead. CARLOS ENRIQUE MORALES HERNANDEZ of the biweekly *Radar Colombiano* and ADOLFO PEREZ AROSEMENA, who had worked with various media and was currently working in the press department of the Red Cross, were found tortured and strangled to death on May 21, just days after they disappeared. Arosemena had also been shot.

It was not immediately clear whether the journalists were killed for their news work.

* * *

U Guerrillas with the pro-Castro National Liberation Army (ELN) kidnapped journalists SANTIAGO LINAN of the Bogota-based daily *El Espectador* and FREDDY PARADA, who works with a local radio station in Cucuta, a city northeast of Bogota on the Venezuelan border. The two were abducted on March 30 from Cucuta and held until April 10.

Two politicians captured by the ELN at the same time were also released on April 10; none of the four was reported harmed by the kidnappers. The ELN has frequently abducted politicians, journalists and businesspeople to display their dissatisfaction with the government's oil policy.

CUBA

N Cuban authorities expelled Reuters correspondent GILLES TREQUESSER on July 2 after accusing him of sending false information abroad. Authorities took the action after Trequesser reported that Communist Party Politburo member Osmany Cienfuegos had sought refuge in the Venezuelan Embassy and that Minister of Tourism Abraham Maciques had been arrested.

The journalist had cited a source "close to" Cienfuegos' family regarding the Politburo member's reported request for refuge, and had stated that the report of Maciques' arrest was unconfirmed. Nonetheless, Trequesser became the second Reuters reporter to be expelled from Cuba since 1986 (see *CPJ Update* #26).



Vokno *Editor Frantisek Starek of Czechoslovakia was sent to jail for 30 months in June on charges of incitement.*

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

N In one of the harshest actions against a Czechoslovak journalist this year, FRANTISEK STAREK, the

banners attacking leading central comrades" and had "spread reactionary news to the illegal organization known as the Yunnan Patriotic Students Democracy Movement Committee."

Zhang Shu, a reporter with the *People's Daily*, had written a special edition of the paper describing the June 24 meeting where Chinese Communist Party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang was ousted from his post. The issue was not published but was circulated in photocopied form.

One report suggests that CHENG HONG, a 22-year-old woman reporter with the English-language *China Daily*, has been freed, although CPJ has been unable to confirm her release. WANG JINTAO (reported as Wang Juntao in *CPJ Update* #36), who was thought to have been among those detained, was apparently not arrested. SU XIAOKANG, who was also reported in detention, escaped to Hong Kong in August after hiding for several weeks. A teacher at the Beijing Broadcasting Institute, Su is best known as the author of a controversial television series called "River Elegy." He was among several leading intellectuals named on a June 23 secret arrest warrant.

* * *

N Authorities have taken pains to insure that foreign press reports about China do not reach the country's citizens.

On July 4, all foreign television broadcasts into China were reportedly banned, notably affecting the reception of Cable News Network in five Beijing tourist hotels.

On July 14, the government banned the distribution of foreign publications, including Hong Kong's English-language *South China Morning Post*, Hong Kong's Chinese-language *Wen Wei Po* and *Ta Kung Po*, *Newsweek*, *Time*, the *International Herald Tribune*, *Asian Wall Street Journal*, *Far Eastern Economic Review* and *USA Today*. Subscription deliveries were uninterrupted, and the ban was lifted about a month later.

* * *

N One of the most chilling obstacles facing foreign journalists is the government's intimidation of potential news sources, who rightfully fear recriminations for talking to the international press.

In late August, the Chinese media reported that Zhang Weiping, a 25-year-old student, had been sentenced to nine years in jail for "spreading rumors" to the Voice of America. Zhang had allegedly called Voice of America on June 6 to report that students in the eastern city of Hangzhou had forced local officials to fly the flag at half-mast in commemoration of those killed in the Beijing army attack.

Zhang's reported sentencing followed the jailing of a Chinese worker who had been interviewed by ABC News about the Beijing action. Xiao Bin was arrested in June and sentenced to ten years, after Chinese authorities intercepted one of ABC's unedited reports and broadcast it on Chinese television.

For further information about events in China, see CPJ's Backgrounder #11 and our chronological listing of incidents involving the press. Both are available on request.

COLOMBIA

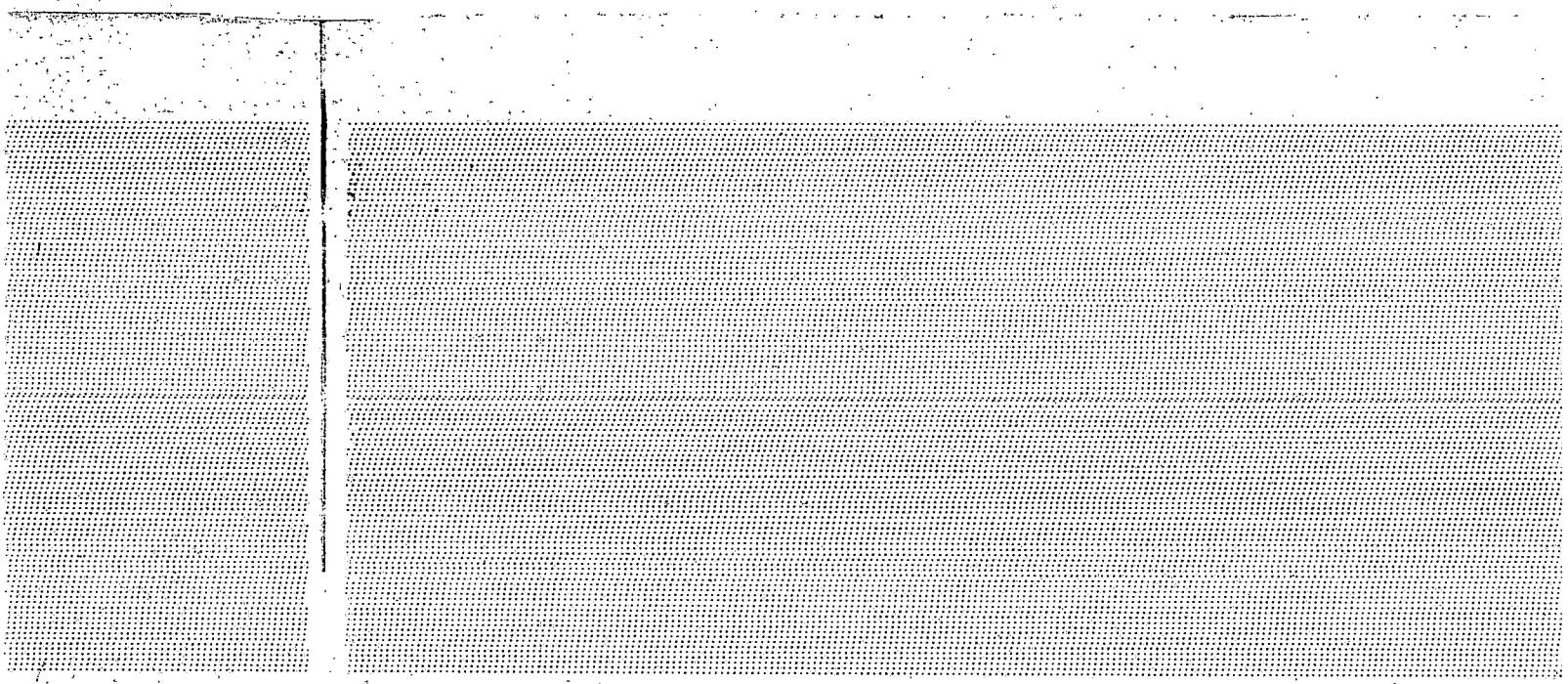
N Colombia's Medellin drug barons have launched a campaign of violence and intimidation against the press. In a declaration released on August 24, the traffickers declared "total and absolute war" on the country's institutions, and signalled their contempt for what they called "the journalists that have attacked and ravaged us." Bombs were defused at the Medellin offices of the Radio Cadena Nacional (RCN) and Caracol radio networks, where the communique was first released.



C.M. GUERRERO

Cameraman Carlos Corrales greeted by family upon his arrival in the United States from Colombia, where he was injured in a September restaurant attack.

The campaign of violence came in retaliation for a major government offensive against the narcotics trade that followed the assassination of presidential hopeful Carlos Galan. Authorities have raided cocaine laboratories, seized planes and ranches and extradited



CASELIST CONTINUED

COLOMBIA

(from page 5)

several drug figures to U.S. courts. The traffickers' response has been to step up threats, bombings and murder, and journalists have been repeatedly targeted.

On September 2, a bomb left outside the offices of the Bogota daily *El Espectador* injured 80 people, killed at least one other, and caused an estimated U.S. $2.5 million in damage to the building. The newspaper has continued to publish, but with fewer pages in each edition.

The bombing has been followed by a shocking series of press murders, starting with the shooting death on September 16 of GUILLERMO GOMEZ MURILLO. Gomez contributed to *El Espectador* and may have been killed because of his investigative reporting on corruption in Buenaventura, where he was killed.

On October 10, Marta Luz Lopez and Miguel Soler, *El Espectador*'s Medellin office manager and director, respectively, were gunned down in separate attacks. A caller to the office who claimed to represent the apparently drug-linked paramilitary group known as the "Extraditables" warned the paper to stop circulating in Medellin.

Also on the 10th, journalist ROBERTO SARASTY was gunned down in Medellin shortly after leaving the Radio Caracol station. According to CPJ sources, he may have been mistaken for someone who worked at Caracol. Sarasty, whose last name has been reported to CPJ in various forms, wrote and published *El Cronista Democrata*, a magazine that appeared sporadically.

Before the week was up, two more journalists had been killed and another paper nearly destroyed. On the 14th, Monteria radio journalist WILLIAM BENDECK OLIVELLA was shot to death. According to reports, he worked for the local station La Voz del Sinu, but details of the case are still sketchy; it is not clear if his death was related to his broadcasting. There are signs, on the other hand, that the October 17 killing of DIEGO VARGAS ESCOBAR may have been linked to his work with the local Medellin station La Voz de las Americas. An outspoken critic of organized crime, Vargas stood out as a man of conscience within the community.

Northeast of Medellin, the Bucaramanga daily *Vanguardia Liberal* was bombed on October 16. The blast destroyed much of the paper's plant, killed at least three people and wounded others. The attack is believed to have been carried out by drug traffickers angered by the newspaper's support of Colombian President Virgilio Barco's campaign against them.

So far, the foreign press has fared better than its local colleagues. On September 5, however, cameraman CARLOS CORRALES and reporter BERNADETTE PARDO of the Univision affiliate in Miami, WLTV Channel 23, were injured when a bomb blast destroyed much of the Bella Epoca restaurant in Medellin, where the two were eating. The bomb may have been aimed directly at the journalists; the restaurant was nearly empty at the time of the explosion. Pardo received a fractured shoulder blade and other injuries; Corrales was cut on the forehead and required 18 stitches (see photo on page 5).

CUBA

N On August 4, the Cuban Communist Party newspaper *Granma* disclosed a ban on two Soviet publications. The paper described the monthly *Sputnik* and weekly *Moscow News* as "justifying bourgeois democracy as the highest form of popular participation and with a fascination for the American Way of Life."

It was unclear if the ban was permanent.

* * *

N On August 6, three human rights monitors were detained for "spreading false news." According to the Communist Party paper *Granma*, they were jailed for having made "slanderous" statements to foreign journalists in July.

The three activists detained were Hiram Abi Cobas, acting head of the Human Rights Party of Cuba; Hubert Jerez, president of the Jose Marti Commission on Human Rights, a former journalist with *Verde Olivo*, and head of the Association of Independent Journalists of Cuba; and Elizardo Sanchez, head of the Cuban Commission for Human Rights and National Reconciliation.

Cuban officials, apparently sensitive to media coverage of human rights activists, had reportedly threatened foreign journalists in July, telling them they might be expelled or barred from future visits if they met with the monitors.

CYPRUS

N At least four journalists were among about 100 Greek Cypriots detained by Turkish-Cypriot authorities on July 19 during a demonstration to protest the Turkish presence in Cyprus. They were MAKARIOS DROUSHIOTIS, a photographer for the newspaper *Agon*;

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110TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

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October 12, 1979, Friday, AM cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 300 words

DATELINE: VIENNA, Austria

KEYWORD: Dissident Trial

BODY:

Six members of the Czechoslovak Committee for the Unjustly Prosecuted will go on trial in Prague Oct. 22 on charges of subversion, dissident sources said here Friday.

They said the six, arrested May 29, face prison terms of up to 10 years.

The defendants are Petr Uhl, an engineer, prominent writer Vaclav Havel, Vaclav Benda, a former spokesman for the Charter 77 civil rights movement; Jiri Dienstbier and Ota Bednarova, former reporter journalists, and Dana Nemcova, a leader of Roman Catholic dissidents and mother of seven children.

Other dissidents including Dana Nemcova's husband, Jiri Nemec, and three others, were arrested in May, but there has been no report of a trial date.

Sources here said the situation of the Nemec children was "desperate," since they have been without their parents since May and are reportedly taken care of by an elder sister and relatives.

The Charter 77 movement was established in January 1977. Its charter, a document calling for human rights in compliance with the 1975 Helsinki accords on European security and cooperation, was originally signed by 242 members, and since then, another 1,000 have signed it, sources said.

In addition to Nemec, the second group facing charges includes Ladislav Lis, a former communist functionary, former social worker Jarmila Belikova, and Vaclav Maly, a catholic priest.

Sources earlier said the latter four stand a chance of being sentenced to suspended prison terms.

Word of the trial date came a week after another prominent critic of the regime, writer Pavel Kohout, was denied re-entry into Czechoslovakia after studying in the West for one year on a visa.

Last Monday Kohout was advised he had been stripped of his citizenship as of Oct. 1. He said he would appeal the decree.

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The Associated Press

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October 24, 1979, Wednesday, AM cycle

SECTION: Washington Dateline

LENGTH: 390 words

BYLINE: By BARRY SCHWEID, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: U.S.-Czechoslovakians

BODY:

The United States on Wednesday condemned the conviction of six Czechoslovakian human rights activists, saying U.S. relations with the Communist government could be harmed.

"It is a matter of serious concern to us that the Czechoslovak government has again punished some of its own citizens for attempts to exercize their fundamental rights," State Department spokesman Hodding Carter said.

The six were playwright Vaclav Havel, 43, economist Peter Uhl, 38, rights spokesman Vaclav Benda, 33, former television commentator Jiri Dienstbier, 42, journalist Otta Bednarova, 54, and Roman Catholic dissident Dana Nemcova.

They were convicted in a Prague court on Thursday of "subversion of the state." Mrs. Nemcova received a suspended sentence. The others were condemned to prison for terms ranging up to five years.

Joining a number of western governments in protest, the United States said through spokesman Carter that the dissidents were working to see that their government acted according to its own laws and international commitments on human rights.

"We cannot agree that the acts which the defendants were accused of committing were in any way criminal or that they warrant punishment," Carter said.

The defendants were charged with being founders of what the Czechoslovak government claimed was an illegal group formed to aid dissidents and help foreigners make hostile proaganda against the state.

Czechsolovakia, along with 32 other European nations, signed the Helsinki agreement on European security and cooperation, pledging thereby to permit free expression of ideas. The United States and Canada are also signatories.

In the U.S. statement, spokesman Carter said the trial contradicts the spirit and letter of that 1975 agreement.

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In reply to questions, Carter said the U.S. government was reviewing what steps it may take in regard to relations with Czechslovakia.

Since the Soviet invasion of 1968, which suppressed a liberalization movement, the Prague government has gradually become one of the restrictive in Eastern Europe.

The U.S. statement went out of its way to recall Czechoslovakia's earlier, democratic history.

"In the case of Czechoslovakia, we are particularly disappointed, given its past tradition and experience of democracy and respect for law and the rights of individuals," Carter said.

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The Reuter Library Report

December 11, 1989, Monday, BC cycle

LENGTH: 815 words

HEADLINE: CZECHOSLOVAK FOREIGN MINISTER SAYS FAREWELL TO THE BOILER ROOM

BYLINE: By Jan Krcmar

DATELINE: PRAGUE, Dec 11

KEYWORD: CZECHOSLOVAKIA-MINIST

BODY:

Jiri Dienstbier was sworn in as Czechoslovak Foreign Minister on Sunday, and one of his first acts was to give notice of quitting his job as a stoker and apologise for missing his 24-hour shift in the boiler room that day.

He was able to do so because shortly before he was named to the top foreign affairs post, the authorities reconnected his home telephone, cut off for months on orders of the secret police.

"My last 24-hour shift was last Wednesday," said Dienstbier, since last month the multilingual spokesman for the pro-democracy Civic Forum which sprang up to lead protests against communist rule.

The recent histories of Dienstbier and some of his colleagues in Czechoslovakia's first government since 1948 not led by Communists typify the waste of intellectual potential in the decades when hundreds of thousands of the country's ablest people were forced to perform menial jobs.

Dienstbier was one of the best-known foreign political commentators in the 1968 "Prague Spring" liberalisation era under Alexander Dubcek that was crushed by the Soviet-led invasion in August of that year.

During the period of "normalisation" following the invasion he was sacked from the radio, worked as an office clerk, was jailed for three years and for countless shorter spells for his human rights activities and finally landed the job as a stoker.

The man who oversaw his persecution and that of thousands of others, hardline President and Communist Party leader Gustav Husak, swore Dienstbier into office in his last offical act on Sunday before quitting a few hours later.

Jan Carnogursky, named First Deputy Premier on Sunday, was released from jail just 15 days earlier. He was arrested last August on charges of subversion for calling for free elections. The charges have now been dropped.

A lawyer and devout Catholic, he worked as an attorney and was fired for his defence of dissidents. He again lost his job in a factory because of his human rights activities and from 1987 was unable to find work.

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The country's new Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Petr Miller is a trained blacksmith who completed his secondary school education in evening classes. In 1969 he began studying economics but was expelled in 1970 and went back to his old trade. He was last at his forge in the CKD engineering works in Prague last Friday.

Deputy Prime Minister Valtr Komarek, one of the country's leading economists, was long silenced for his outspoken criticism of the Communists' rigid, centrally planned economy.

In 1984 he was finally allowed to found the Economic Forecasting Institute of the Academy of Sciences where he assembled a team of experts who, though largely unheard, worked on plans for sweeping economic and political reforms.

Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus was sacked from his job in the Economic Institute of the Academy of Sciences in 1970 and worked in second rate jobs until 1988 when Komarek managed to get him into his institute.

Richard Sacher, a minister without portfolio in the new cabinet, was unable to study in the Stalinist 1950s and worked as a truck driver, manual worker and miner before being allowed to attend evening classes where he completed his secondary education and went on to a law degree.

He was sacked from his job in the apparatus of the Communist-subservient People's Party for criticising the moral stagnation of the party.

The squandering of the country's intellect by its Communist rulers did not start with the Soviet invasion of 1968 but went back to the Communist takeover of 1948.

Hundreds of thousands of intellectuals, top civil servants, judges, teachers and students lost their jobs in mass purges of institutions throughout the country, to be replaced by unqualified but reliable Communists.

Many of the victims of those purges, if they were lucky enough not to finish in prison or forced labour camps, ended up in coal or uranium mines, steel mills, as construction workers or doing even more menial jobs, like one of the country's leading Shakespeare scholars who became a washroom attendant.

The railway bridge over the river Vltava in the Branik district of Prague, nicknamed "Bridge of the Intelligentsia", is considered a monument to those who built it and whose lives were ruined by the Communists.

The second wave of attrition against the country's intellectual elite took place after 1968.

These victims now have a second chance to contribute to the democratic political and economic reforms sweeping the country.

But, like Dienstbier, they must first tidy up the remains of their recent past.

Lubos Dobrovsky, a former journalist and editor of a literary monthly banned in 1979, took over from Dienstbier as Civic Forum spokesman on Sunday.

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He cut short a news conference that evening with the words: "Please excuse me, but I have to start my shift in the boiler room in an hour's time."

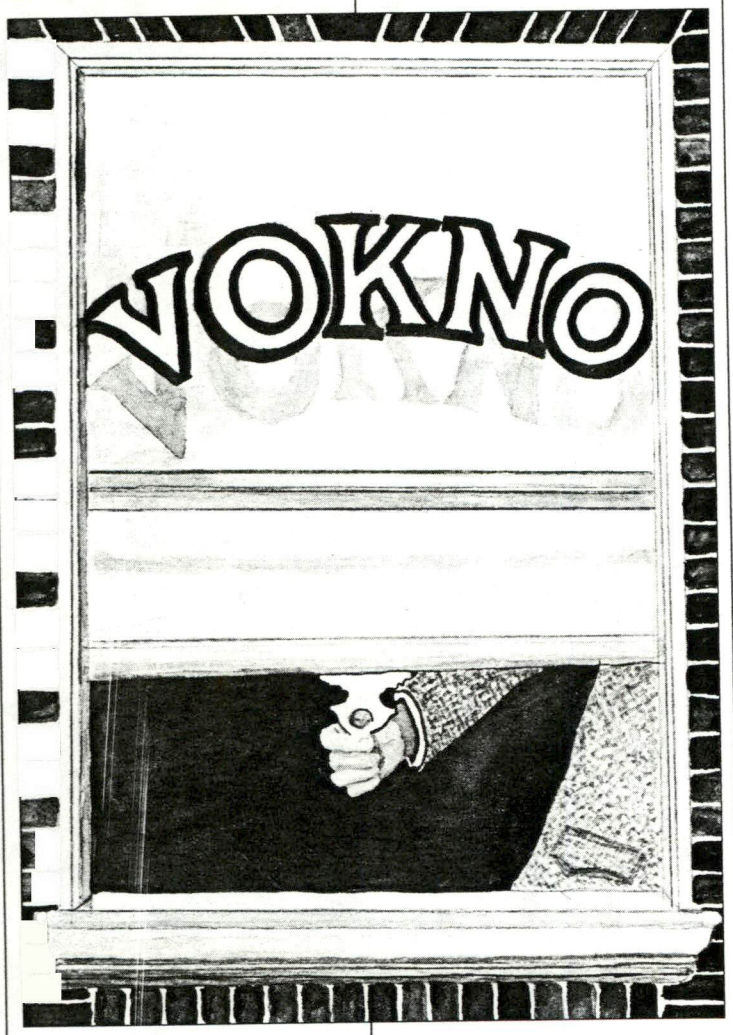
SUBJECT: POLITICS; LIFESTYLE

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In A Czech Prison, An Editor Waits

Vokno, in Czech, means "window." It's also the name of one of the leading underground publications in Czechoslovakia. But if the government had its way, it would pull the shade down on *Vokno* once and for all.

On June 28 Frantisek "Cunas" Stárek, chief editor of *Vokno*, was sentenced to two-and-a-half years in jail, plus two years of "protective supervision," the harshest prison term handed down for dissident activities in Czechoslovakia in the recent wave of political trials.



CARL SCHOENBERGER

On February 23 authorities raided the apartment Stárek shares with Iva Vojtkova. Police seized his typewriter, computer and printer, as well as the entire *Vokno* archive. They then charged Stárek with possession of "literature which is prohibited...by the law governing printed matter," a charge that was later stiffened to "incitement." Vojtkova, who was tried with him, received a one-year sentence for assisting his activities. Her sentence was suspended but could be put into effect anytime in the next two years. Both of their August 28 appeals were denied.

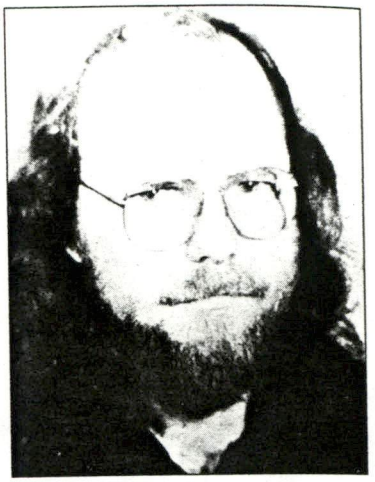
A mimeographed and stapled quarterly, *Vokno* has promoted "unofficial" literature since its founding in 1979. Its print runs have steadily increased from 100 to 500 copies per issue, with each copy reaching an estimated 30 readers.

Vokno has featured the writings of philosopher-poet Egon Bondy, music reviews of the punk-rock group Plastic People of the Universe, photographs of Andy Warhol's art, articles on Abby Hoffman—even advice on how to behave with the police. It also encompasses a video-production unit and an independent theater group. With its appeal to the young working class, *Vokno* has caught the ear of potential Communist Party recruits.

The prosecution attacked Stárek specifically for publishing articles on Czechoslovakia's dire ecological problems, for running an excerpt from Josef Skvorecky's masterpiece, *The Engineer of Human Souls*, and for featuring caricatures of *perestroika* in *Vokno*'s supplementary newsletter, "Vokoviny." "Fortunately, it will not be prosecutors and secret police majors who will be determining the future political development of this country," Stárek responded at his trial. "The only things that these people may achieve is a temporary halt to positive social developments."

Unlike Poland and Hungary, the Czech regime has been working overtime to resist any "dramatic" attempts at reform. While the country, earlier this year, opened its gates to thousands of East Germans on their exodus West, it continues to clamp down on independent activities within its own borders. On October 12, Jiri Ruml and Rudolf Zeman—editors of another prominent underground journal, *Lidove Noviny (People's News)*—were arrested on charges of incitement. Two days later, five members of the Movement for Civil Liberties, an independent political organization, were arrested on the same charge.

Stárek's case is but one in a rash of political trials in Czechoslovakia this year flying in the face of the human rights commitment the government made when it signed the Helsinki accords in 1975. But for the first time, opposition to the status quo in Czechoslovakia has grown beyond professional dissident circles to the grass-roots level and is gaining Polish, Hungarian and East German support.



Czech Editor Stárek

On June 29, the day after Stárek's trial, a petition known simply as "A Few Sentences," (now boasting more than 35,000 signatures) called the government to task: "The time has now come to bring about real and substantial changes to the system, and to understand that such changes are possible and can be successful only if they are preceded by a truly free and democratic discussion."

While the regime isn't about to follow East Germany's example, its actions, like the one against *Vokno*, continue to backfire. Since Stárek's detention, a parallel publication also named *Vokno* has sprung up in Vienna to provide Czechoslovakia with cultural news from the outside world; the original publication continues under other editorial hands deep underground; and a committee has been established in Czechoslovakia to call attention to Stárek's plight.

As Stárek himself pointed out in a 1988 interview: "*Vokno* is more than a magazine: For its readers it has become a movement."

John Glusman

April 3, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON
CURT SMITH

FROM: STEPHANIE BLESSEY

SUBJECT: ASNE SPEECH

This fax includes:

- Memo from me dated March 28, 1990.
- Bio on Jiri Dienstbier Czech Minister of Foreign Affairs and former journalist
- Story on Sergei Kustnetsov and Jiri Dienstbier
- Article on 53 reporters killed in 1989
- Article on Chamorro killing
- Nexis articles

The following is an explanation of the NEXIS articles that follow.

The Soviet Union was so afraid of freedom of information or sharing information that photocopiers were regulated. They were "guarded, double-locked [with] steel covered doors."

"Samizdat" or the self-published dissident writings were made on "brittle, flimsy paper interlarded with carbons. Copies were limited to 100 and the "lines were often so fuzzy and close together they made a reader's head swim."

UPI article 10/1/1980 lists Soviet dissidents arrested for their underground publications.

But now....

"'Underground literature is dying -- samizdat is just finished in this country,' a young Soviet journalist and music critic said here the other day. The funny thing was, he was smiling."

Soviets are encouraging people to learn how to use computers, but copy machine regulators can't control computer print outs.

March 28, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CURT SMITH

FROM: STEPHANIE BLESSEY

SUBJECT: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS

The following is information for the ASNE speech.

I. American History and journalists

A. American History

- "To the press alone, checkered as it is with abuses the world is indebted for all triumphs which have been obtained by reason and humanity over error and oppression."
James Madison

- First newspaper Publick Occurences, Both Foreign and Domestick, September 25, 1690, published by Benjamin Harris, and it was closed down four days later. The only copy is being flown in from London for an exhibit at the Library of Congress.

- A print of Paul Revere's Bloody Massacre was copied and distributed as propaganda by Paul Revere himself. March 15, 1770.

- The Americans learned of the end of the Revolution through the newspaper publication of the surrender of Yorktown signed by Cornwallis.

- Many of the Federalist and Republican battles were fought through word battles. "Journalists roasted John Adams and Vice President Thomas Jefferson.

- Nellie Bly, the investigative reporter who flew around the world in 72 days also had herself committed to an insane asylum on Blackwell's Island to uncover the atrocities there.

- Jacob Riis was a Tribune reporter who wrote about New York's slums.

- Country editor William Allen White was friend of five Presidents especially Teddy Roosevelt. His paper from Emporia, Kansas, The Emporia Gazette is still being run by his granddaughter.

- During the gold rush Horace Greeley had the trust of all the people. When he reported that ghost town, Denver, really had gold, 40,000 people returned.

- Walt Whitman used his journalistic material to write "Leaves of Grass."

-Famous war correspondents -- Bill Mulden and Ernie Pyle. Mulden will speak at the convention.

B. Famous Firsts
See highlighted attachment

C. Captured Journalists

- On April 6, 1970, Sean Flynn and Dana Stone were captured by the Viet Cong guerrillas operating in Cambodia. Flynn, a photographer for Time, was a 6'3" lean handsome fellow who was better looking and even more charming than his father Erol Flynn. And Dana Stone "Mini Grunt" to some of the Marines was a freckled sandy haired ball of energy contained in a little body. His deep set eyes and serious face were off-set by his sense of humor and proclivity to pull pranks on his buddies. His films were used in a documentary that won the Peabody Award and an Emmy.

D. Foreign

- China - When the students of Tiananmen Square were asked what they wanted they inevitably answered democracy and freedom of the press.

- China - Dazibao, or handbills were mimeographed and handed out to spread the truth about the demonstrations in Tiananmen Square.

- Colombia - "Three years ago, El Espectador's editor Guillemo 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's a decisive moment in our history. It is a time to be united,' he said, 'We cannot back down.'"

- Colombia - "On September 2, 1989, a 220 lb. bomb planted in a parked pick-up 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 window 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.'"

-Colombia - A number of U.S. newspapers including The Washington Post, THe Miami Herald, and The New York Times have bought ads in El Espectador to show their moral support.

- Colombia - "According to 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."

- Colombia - "On October 10, 1989, the director of Cronista Democratica magazine was killed."

E. Ethics

- American journalists have a remarkable reputation for objectivity. You know when travelling around the world the American Press Credential receives tremendous respect. Because American journalists have always had high standards of integrity they have established this reputation. It is an American tradition. And I commend you on this. And I encourage you to uphold this tradition.

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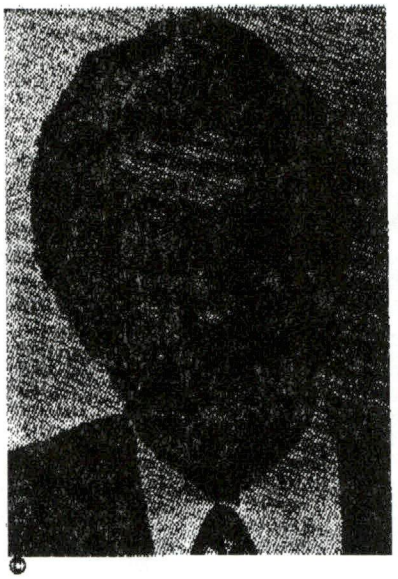
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Jiri DIENSTBIER **CZECHOSLOVAKIA**
(Phonetic: DEENSTbeer)



Minister of Foreign Affairs
(since 10 December 1989)

Addressed as: Mr. Minister

A journalist and longtime dissident, Jiri Dienstbier became active in the Civic Forum opposition group upon its establishment on 19 November 1989 and served briefly as its press spokesman before his appointment as Foreign Minister. He is the author of several plays and numerous essays on international politics. He has said that Czechoslovakia should be a cornerstone of European unity because of its central location. He advocates basing European security on general cooperation within the Helsinki process rather than on military power blocs.

The son of a doctor and Communist Party activist, Dienstbier was born on 20 April 1937. He graduated from the Philosophy Department of Charles University and then joined the party. During 1959-69 he worked as a radio broadcaster and foreign correspondent for Czechoslovak Radio, serving for three years in the Far East and in the United States. A strong supporter of the Prague Spring reforms, he denounced the Soviet-led invasion in August 1968 as a betrayal of the country's historic friendship with the Soviet Union.

Expelled from the party and the Writers' Union in 1969, Dienstbier worked as an archivist and became active in the dissident community. He signed the human rights declaration Charter 77 in January 1977 and was a Charter spokesman twice—in early 1979 and during 1985. In 1979 he cofounded the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Prosecuted (VONS), a Charter offshoot, which monitored the fate of prosecuted dissidents. He spent three years in prison for his VONS activities.

Upon his release from jail, Dienstbier declined a chance to emigrate. He worked as a boiler man and continued participating in opposition activities. In 1988 he joined the editorial board of *Lidove Noviny*, a samizdat monthly that will be published as an independent daily beginning in early 1990.

29 December 1989

CASES IN THE SOVIET UNION/ EASTERN EUROPE

SERGEI KUZNETSOV

Sergei Kuznetsov, an independent Soviet journalist, was arrested in December 1988 at a human rights rally in the city of Sverdlovsk. After being held in jails and psychiatric hospitals for eight months, he was released in July 1989 pending trial on charges of slander and resisting police.

Kuznetsov, who worked as a correspondent for the samizdat publications Ekspress-Khronika and Glasnost, was arrested again after criticizing a KGB official. He was sentenced on November 28 to three years' imprisonment. On appeal in January of this year, the slander charge was changed to "insulting" and the sentence was reduced to six months. The charge of resisting arrest was dropped. Kuznetsov was freed because of time already served.

JIRI DIENSTBIER

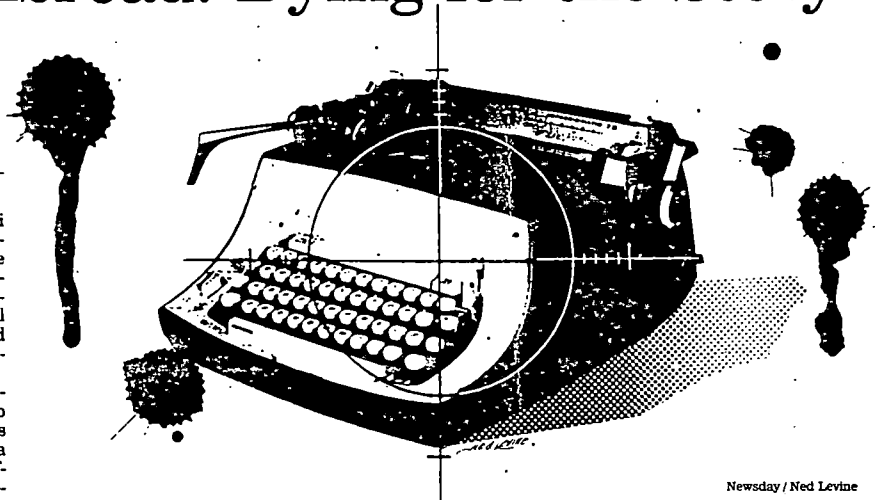
Jiri Dienstbier (pronounced YEER-zhee DEENST-beer) is Czechoslovakia's new foreign minister. Before the revolution in November, however, he had been chairman of the editorial board of what was then Czechoslovakia's leading samizdat newspaper, Lidove Noviny (pronounced LI-do-veh NO-vi-nee).

Dienstbier's telephone was disconnected by authorities late last year. In 1979, he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for his membership in the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted (VONS), a human rights organization.

Dienstbier worked from 1958 to 1969 as a reporter and commentator for Czechoslovak Radio. He was among those journalists who continued to broadcast illegally after the Warsaw Pact invasion in 1968. He was later fired from the Czechoslovak Radio and expelled from the Union of Journalists and Communist Party. He then worked as a night watchman and a stoker.

Journalists Abroad: Dying for the Story

53 reporters were killed in 1989, underscoring a turbulent era's dangers.



Newsday / Ned Levine

By Anne Nelson

LAST THURSDAY morning, in a grim Iraqi prison, a 31-year-old journalist named Farzad Bazoft was hanged. Reporting for the prestigious British newspaper The Observer, Bazoft was accused of spying when he went to investigate an explosion at a military complex. His trial was peremptory, the sessions closed; he was denied a British lawyer, and representatives of The Observer were not even allowed to attend.

Bazoft's execution prompted a storm of controversy: pleas and protests on one side, attempts to discredit his past on the other. There were charges in Britain that he had been a bank robber and a police informant — certainly not hangable offenses, nor directly supporting the charges of espionage. But due to the controversy and the suspenseful deathwatch, Bazoft's trial and execution received a great deal of international attention. That is what made his case unusual.

In much of the world, journalism is an inherently dangerous profession. Last year, 53 journalists were killed, most of them unnoticed by anyone outside a narrow circle of colleagues, family and friends. The toll was about double the usual numbers for recent years. The shocking figure, reported by the Committee to Protect Journalists last week in its annual "Attacks on the Press" report, underscores the perils the media face in an era of sweeping political change.

One reason that the death rate for journalists has risen is that there are simply more wars covered by more reporters. In addition, the rules of engagement have changed drastically. During World War II, and as recently as the Vietnam War, war correspondents donned uniforms and assumed a semi-official position with the troops. In today's widespread guerrilla wars, where the line between civilian and combatant is often blurred, journalists run the risks a soldier runs, without the benefit of armed defense.

'The best and the brightest of the Colombian press have been driven into silence or exile.'

The most dangerous milieu for journalists in our time is undoubtedly the Third World "brush fire" war: Of the 53 journalists killed last year, 14 died in El Salvador, more than in any other country. Many of these were casualties of the November offensive, and a few of them — foreign correspondents — were apparently caught in cross fire. More than 50 journalists have died in El Salvador since the beginning of its current conflict about 10 years ago.

El Salvador's is the first prolonged war in which technology and geography allow journalists to "commute" since the battlefield is a mere three hours' flight from Miami. The controversial role of the United States in the country guarantees extensive coverage, not only here but in Europe and Latin America as well. A news event in El Salvador, such as last spring's election or last fall's offensive, brings up to 1,000 journalists from all over the world, each eager for a scoop, many drawn into the line of fire by the demands of television and photography for images of what reporters call "bang-bang." Some of them, inevitably, are killed.

But for journalists who spend the war inhabiting an uneasy "demilitarized zone," the risks can be even greater. For the last 10 years, scores of local journalists have been killed in El Salvador and Guatemala, the vast majority by right-wing death squads.

A war doesn't need to be officially declared to constitute a physical threat to the press. Eleven journalists were killed last year in Colombia, a country where investigative journalism is tantamount to suicide. Drug traffickers and paramilitary squads operating with army backing have no tolerance for the scrutiny of the press. In 1986, Guillermo Cano, the editor of the country's most prestigious paper, El Espectador, was murdered. Last year, Hector Giraldo, a lawyer working on Cano's case and a columnist for the paper, was shot to death as he drove up to a stoplight in Bogota.

Colombia is a nominally democratic country whose institutions have been paralyzed by the drug trade, and the press is no exception. The best and the brightest of the Colombian press have been driven into silence or exile; the few who remain publish articles that are either desperately cautious or unsigned.

The 1989 "Attacks on the Press" report also reflects some startling developments in the Soviet bloc. For example, East Germany and Czechoslovakia, which used to be problem cases, are experiencing an unfettered press for the first time in many decades. In a breathtaking turnabout, Czechoslovak journalist Jiri Dienstbier, a regular on the committee's list of dissident detainees, was recently named the new government's foreign minister.

The advances made in Eastern Europe place the holdouts to reform in even greater relief: In China, the independent press that began to blossom during the past few years has all but disappeared. In Cuba, authorities anxious to keep glasnost's influence at bay keep the local press utterly muzzled.

But glasnost has also extracted its own price. In the bad old days, few Soviet journalists dared to write about the sins of the system, and they could not publish their articles outside underground publications when they did. Now the Soviet press is regularly publishing investigative work — but in some instances, journalists are suffering the consequences. Last year, Vladimir Glotov, who reported for several Soviet business magazines, was murdered in apparent retaliation for his coverage of organized crime, and another reporter, Nikolai Nikiforov, was killed after writing on corruption.

The new openness experienced in the Soviet Union has not spread to the Arab states. Last week's hanging in Iraq doesn't surprise journalists who have worked in the region; the Arab countries tend to disdain the western concept of freedom of information, and they inflict swift and harsh retribution against anyone who violates their norms.

Collins column, Page 63

But usually it is not the static dictatorships, such as Iraq, Cuba and North Korea, that threaten the lives of journalists, since so little uncensored reporting is permitted there that the authorities are rarely offended. Rather, the most frequent physical perils occur in Third World countries that are in transition from one degree of freedom to another, when the rules are changing too quickly for reporters to chart reliable boundaries.

This year, more than any other in memory, we have been bedazzled by the force and drama of political events in Eastern Europe, China and Central America. It would behoove us Americans, the world's most avid consumers of news, to remember that elsewhere in the world, journalists are dying in the process of bringing the story to our doorstep.



Anne Nelson, a former director of the Committee to Protect Journalists, is the 1989 winner of the Thomas More Storke and Livingston awards for international journalism.

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Khmer Rouge defenders. Although Hanoi acknowledged that Cambodian forces had launched a broad counterattack into seven Vietnamese provinces, General Giap's forces were believed to be still in control of key border sectors and were securing their military victory through the formation of a provisional government composed of local Khmer sympathetic to Hanoi.

The war, in any case, was overshadowed last week by a diplomatic road show: a 20-man delegation led by smiling Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh has been visiting in Laos, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines. In the ASEAN capitals, Trinh called for "a new period for the development of relations, friendship, good neighborliness and long-term cooperation." Hanoi's game plan appeared to be twofold: to explain and justify its invasion of Cambodia and, in long-range terms, to loosen its bond to Moscow. The Vietnamese appreciate Soviet assistance, but they do not want a bear hug. Thus in the ASEAN capitals they were laying groundwork for negotiations on economic cooperation and establishing or expanding trade relations.

Thailand, under a new, less antagonistic regime, welcomed the visit. The jovial Vietnamese were received at Bangkok airport with lilac-scented garlands called *puang malais* and elegantly chauffeured about town in capitalistic Cadillacs and Lincoln Continentals. There was even a cocktail party for Trinh, to which delegations from foreign embassies were invited.

Hanoi's two-handed diplomacy has already achieved one significant and rewarding result. Peking, which originally backed Cambodia while Moscow supported Viet Nam, last week showed a new evenhandedness by publishing the communiqués and claims of both sides in the Parrot's Beak confrontation. Despite an assertion in Washington by presidential National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski that the Viet Nam–Cambodia conflict was a "proxy war" between China and the Soviet Union, neither superpower had in fact taken a direct role in backing an ally and neither appeared eager to do so.

Hanoi, at least, was ready for mediation and, more than that, for a new, broad harmony between Communist and non-Communist nations. Some analysts worry that Viet Nam may yet rekindle Ho Chi Minh's old dream of a Communist peninsula under Viet Nam's domination. But Thai Foreign Minister Upadit Pachariyangkun emerged from last week's Bangkok discussions with his Vietnamese guests considerably more optimistic. "They seem determined to reconstruct their economy and make life better for their people," he told TIME Correspondent David DeVoss. "They understand that peace and stability are prerequisites to that task." Such a position, to Upadit, indicates a triumph of economic necessity over political ideology. ■

NICARAGUA

Shotguns Silence a Critic

A political killing touches off another Managua earthquake

Five years after the earthquake that killed 10,000 people and sent office buildings tumbling into one another like falling dominoes, the downtown area of Nicaragua's capital city of Managua is still a semi-ghost town of empty lots and damaged structures. But the streets are passable again and often clogged with traffic. Thus Newspaper Publisher-Editor Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Cardenal, 53, was driving at a leisurely pace last week as he headed from home on one side of the city toward his office on the other at *La Prensa*, the country's largest newspaper (circ. 30,000). Because he was driving so slowly, Chamorro was unable to escape when another car that had been following his Saab suddenly drew abreast. Shotguns were poked from the window of the car, and a series of blasts struck Chamorro. His car went out of control, jumped a curb and struck a lamppost. Rushed to a hospital by medics who first assumed he had been in an auto accident, Central America's best-known newsman died on the examining table.

For 30 years Chamorro had been a relentless critic of Strongman Anastasio ("Tacho") Somoza and his family, who have ruled the nation for more than four oppressive decades. His death caused a political earthquake in Nicaragua, and his funeral quickly dissolved into a political event. A crowd swelling to 40,000 followed the coffin from the hospital mortuary to Chamorro's home and then to *La Prensa's* office. The angry marchers moved on to burn a Somoza-owned textile mill and a commercial blood bank that Chamorro had exposed for selling Nicaraguan blood abroad at a lucrative profit. Some stoned a police station; the cops responded by lobbing tear gas into *La Prensa's* building. The crowds shouted "Death to Somoza!" and "Down with Yankee imperialism!" Among a score of buildings set afire was an American bank. To forestall further rioting, the government pressured Chamorro's family to bury him ahead of schedule.

Chamorro's supporters blamed Somoza for the shooting. They had good cause to suspect him. Ever since the two were eight-year-old schoolboys, Chamorro and Somoza had been enemies. In those days, Somoza told TIME last week, they fought because Chamorro's family paper "kept attacking my dad, and I couldn't stand for that." Dad was Anastasio the elder, who took over the country in 1936. After his assassination in 1956, his son Luis became *Jefe*, and after Luis' death in 1967, Tacho succeeded him. Those childish



Murder Victim Pedro Joaquín Chamorro



Angry crowds carry Chamorro's coffin to his newspaper office

More to lose from creating a martyr than to gain from silencing a critic.

schoolyard battles were merely the start of Chamorro's lifelong crusade to unseat the dynasty he would one day describe as "permanent parasites, stealing and corrupting everything in sight." Chamorro became a student agitator at the University of Managua, followed that with a brief adventure as a guerrilla leader who tried to take on Luis Somoza's Guardia Nacional with a thin band of insurgents. He was sentenced to a nine-year prison term for his abortive rebellion. After serving 18 months, he was released in a general amnesty.

Since that time, Chamorro had confined his attacks within his family's constantly censored newspaper. After a deadly band of anti-Somoza guerrillas known as the Sandinistas—with whom Chamorro was sympathetic—launched an offensive against the national guard last October, Chamorro was forbidden to leave the country. Three months ago, he received an unexpected respite: Tacho Somoza, who denies all accusations of tyranny in Nicaragua, could hardly refuse to let his most persistent critic fly to New York City to receive the Maria Moors Cabot Prize from Columbia University for his "distinguished journalistic contributions to the advancement of inter-American understanding."

Somoza insisted last week that he had had nothing to do with the murder of his longtime adversary. "I am very chagrined at Pedro Joaquín's killing," he told TIME. "He was in the opposition, but he was in the honest opposition." The day after the shooting four men were arrested. One of the accused, Silvio Peña Rivas, told a Managua judge that he had been paid 100,000 cordobas ($14,285) to kill the publisher. He said that payment had been made by Pedro Ramos, a Cuban-American, who was owner of the blood bank that Chamorro had exposed. In Miami, Ramos termed the charge "a monstrosity."

Whatever the motive, the killing was another problem for Tacho Somoza, already awash in a sea of trouble. Somoza nearly died from a heart attack last summer; even though he shed 40 lbs. from his previous 240, he has still not yet fully recovered. Politically, the regime is shakier than ever before in the course of its 45 years. The U.S. last year threatened to cut off Nicaraguan aid because of continuing violations of human rights. Partly to appease Washington, Tacho lifted the martial law he had imposed to subdue the Sandinistas. Meanwhile, a new and growing opposition from businessmen and church leaders is increasingly active.

At week's end, Somoza announced that he would give up the presidency when his term ends in 1981. Under the 1974 constitution, no member of his family can succeed him. Somoza will undoubtedly pick a trusted stand-in as puppet President, however, and keep his job as head of the national guard—thus continuing to run the country. ■

THE PHILIPPINES

Tales from Disiniland

How to succeed in business if you know the right people

Two hours' drive west of Manila in Bataan province, a sprawling 620-megawatt nuclear power generator is rising on a cliff overlooking the ocean. Its $1.1 billion price tag makes it the most costly single venture in Philippine history. It also represents a record-breaking financial windfall for the country's champion wheeler-dealer, Herminio Disini, 41. His total commissions from the project could top $40 million.

What makes Disini's services so valued? It might be his very close friendship with President Ferdinand Marcos, a connection that, according to veteran observers in Manila, was invoked to win a major share of the government's nuclear plant construction contract for Disini's client, Pittsburgh's Westinghouse Electric Corp. Allegations about the suspicious nature of Disini's services recently prompted the U.S. Export-Import Bank, which is providing much of the financing for the project, to ask the Justice Department to determine whether Westinghouse made improper payments to a foreign business agent. Troubled by an embarrassing international scandal, President Marcos last week told TIME Correspondent Richard Bernstein: "Westinghouse has some things to explain to our government. If there has been anything illegal committed by Westinghouse, our lawyers are considering canceling the contract with Westinghouse and giving it to somebody else."

Disini, of course, is not the only Filipino who has been known to profit from a personal relationship with Marcos. Since the President imposed martial law in 1972, his relatives and cronies, as well as those of his glamorous wife Imelda, the governor of Manila, have been amassing huge fortunes. Their blatant influence peddling has prompted one amazed diplomat in Manila to observe: "It's incredible what they've taken over." Marcos' sister Elizabeth Marcos Keon, for example, is governor of Ilocos Norte province, and Benjamin ("Kokoy") Romualdez, Imelda's brother, who owns the *Times Journal*, one of the capital's major dailies, is governor of Leyte province and heads the League of Provincial Governors and City Mayors. Roberto Benedicto, a frequent Marcos golfing partner, has acquired three television stations since martial law was imposed (giving him a total of four) and is chief of the Philippine Sugar Commission.



President Marcos tees off at Manila tournament as Crony Herminio Disini looks on

A $40 million windfall for the wheeler-dealer—or the possible loss of his empire.

No one, however, can quite rival the meteoric rise of Disini, a Marcos buddy whose wife is a cousin of Imelda's and former governess to the First Couple's three children. In the past six years, Disini has transformed an otherwise undistinguished company, Herdis Management & Investment Corp., from a small cigarette-filter manufacturing plant into a conglomerate empire of 33 separate enterprises with assets totaling about $200 million. These firms, among other things, manufacture textiles, explore for oil and run charter air flights. Recently Disini acquired the

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The Reuter Library Report

November 10, 1989, Friday, BC cycle

LENGTH: 216 words

HEADLINE: PRIEST HELD AT GUNPOINT IN RAID ON SOVIET CHRISTIAN MAGAZINE

DATELINE: LONDON, Nov 10

KEYWORD: BRITAIN-SOVIET

BODY:

Armed men held a Soviet priest at gunpoint and stole computers, printers and a fax machine from the Moscow office of a dissident Christian newspaper, a British monitoring group said on Friday.

Keston College, which monitors religious freedom in Eastern Europe, said the Bulletin of the Christian Community believed the KGB was behind Tuesday's raid on the Moscow flat it uses as an editorial office.

It said two men talked their way into the flat by saying they had a letter from a Leningrad group associated with the underground " samizdat" newspaper.

"Father Viktor Grigoriev, who was alone in the flat, had no reason to be suspicious of them and invited them in...Father Viktor was beaten up and held at pistol-point while the items were removed from the flat," a Keston College spokesman said.

He said all other staff of the Bulletin were attending an alternative Revolution Day parade, suggesting that the raid was carefully timed.

The Bulletin, one of the best known religious publications in the Soviet Union, is published every six weeks with a print run of 1,300 and circulated all over the Soviet Union, the spokesman said.

Its editor is Alexander Ogorodnikov, a well-known dissident who spent eight-and-a-half years in jail and labour camp for organising a Christian seminar.

SUBJECT: CRIME; LIFESTYLE

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The Associated Press

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October 5, 1989, Thursday, PM cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 690 words

HEADLINE: Photocopiers, Once Thought as Dangerous as Explosives, to Be Deregulated

BYLINE: By JOHN-THOR DAHLBURG, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: MOSCOW

KEYWORD: Soviet-Photocopiers

BODY:

Soviets long considered photocopiers as dangerous as guns or explosives, and police strictly regulated their use. Now, authorities say modern word-processing technology makes their job impossible and they want out.

The Interior Ministry, responsible for police and law enforcement, "intends to relinquish control over the purchasing, possession and functioning" of duplicating and copying equipment, the government daily Izvestia reported Wednesday night.

"With the help of computers, one can publish ... an entire newspaper, and this in any number of copies," Izvestia quoted V. Vashchenko, the Interior Ministry official in charge of policing the use of copiers, as saying.

"It's impossible to control this process by any means. And moreover, do we need to?"

Vashchenko's remarks reflect the relaxed official attitude toward access to technology that could reproduce literary or political works hostile to state ideology, and toward freer self-expression in general.

Limiting citizens' abilities to broadcast their views has been a Soviet obsession since the days of Lenin. As Izvestia noted, soon after the Communists took power in 1917, even typewriters had to be registered with authorities, and that requirement was only recently lifted.

In another sign of change under President Mikhail S. Gorbachev, a proposed law on the press being considered by the legislature outlaws state censorship and orders governmental bodies to answer questions posed by reporters.

Under current regulations, the purchasing, installation and use of almost any duplicating equipment in the Soviet Union requires the ministry's "special permission," Izvestia said.

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Inside the ministry, about 1,000 inspectors police copiers and duplicating equipment, the paper said. It wryly noted they work in ministry division also responsible for "questions of control over storing firearms, poisons, explosives."

Those specialists, however, are not numerous enough to patrol the 60,000 sites possessing copying equipment, so rank-and-file policemen often have to keep unauthorized people from making "Kseroks," as photocopies are called in Russian.

Counters on the state-owned machines record how many copies are made, and each use must be entered in a log. Nevertheless, Izvestia said, police find and confiscate unauthorized copies of material ranging from "The ABCs of Sex" to reading fortunes from coffee grounds.

Recently, commercial photocopy enterprises opened in Moscow as part of joint economic ventures with Western firms, but what they can duplicate for their Soviet customers is still limited by a 15-year-old government order.

"Under pretext of protecting copyrights, it sharply narrows the circle of texts which are allowed to be duplicated," A. Dvoyeglazov, acting director of the 6-month-old Reprocenter in northern Moscow, was quoted by Izvestia as saying. "But what copyrights are, nobody in this country knows."

Dvoyeglazov spoke wistfully of the West, "where anyone who desires can drop in a coin and print anything."

Until that happens, copying something will remain a headache for average Soviets, whether they are engineers who want to reproduce an article from a technical journal, a student who needs to publish his doctoral dissertion or a mother who wants to send a favorite recipe to her daughter.

Izvestia said the Interior Ministry was detailing how it proposed to get out of the copier-monitoring business, but the newspaper did not elaborate.

Lack of access to photocopiers or other means of printing gave rise to an entire school of Soviet literature - "samizdat," or the self-published underground dissident writings of the 1970s and early 1980s that gave Soviets information and views not then reported in state-run media.

On brittle, flimsy paper interlarded with carbons, activists inscribed the works of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Roy Medvedev, Andrei Amalrik and other contemporaries in typewritten texts whose lines were often so fuzzy and close together they made a reader's head swim.

Since Gorbachev became Soviet leader in 1985, many of those works have been reprinted in official newspapers and magazines.

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October 5, 1989, Thursday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part 1; Page 8; Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 640 words

HEADLINE: SOVIETS FREE THE DREADED PHOTOCOPIER

BYLINE: By MICHAEL PARKS, Times Staff Writer

DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

Forty years into the era of xerography, the Soviet Union is getting ready to move its photocopiers from their guarded, double-locked, steel-covered doors as the country tries to catch up with the worldwide explosion of information.

The Soviet Ministry of Interior Affairs announced Wednesday that it wants to "relinquish control over the acquisition, storage and operation of copying equipment," admitting that photocopiers are now standard office equipment and not really the grave threat to state security they were once perceived to be.

The ministry's Second Department of the Main Directorate of Protecting Public Order acknowledged that the recent spread to more than 60,000 different Soviet organizations of kseroks machines, as all photocopiers are called in Russian, had made its task of supervising their operation virtually impossible.

In what will be a major step toward implementing President Mikhail S. Gorbachev's policy of free-flowing information under glasnost, or political openness, the ministry is drafting regulations permitting government offices, scientific institutions, enterprises and other organizations to assume responsibility for their own photocopiers.

The immediate impact will probably be the importation of thousands more copiers -- as soon as the foreign exchange can be found to buy them.

Inspectors from the Interior Ministry will no longer be checking each machine to ensure that it is locked in secure quarters, that complete registers are kept of the documents copied and that the numbers of copies correspond to the tamper-proof counters required on each machine.

The truly conscientious inspectors had also checked the desks of the operators for unauthorized materials and seized such contraband as horoscopes and sex manuals.

'Semi-Criminal Operation'

Acknowledging that hundreds of thousands of Soviet citizens -- engineers, students, scientists, even grandmothers with medical records -- need documents copied every day, the government newspaper Izvestia observed Wednesday that those people have faced either very long lines, as they and their papers were scrutinized at authorized photocopier offices, or "a semi-criminal operation"

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(c) 1989 Los Angeles Times, October 5, 1989

to get papers copied quickly in violation of government controls.

Under the elaborate "instructions on procedures of printing nonclassified documentation," adopted in 1974 to prevent dissidents from photocopying their political tracts, then known as samizdat, or "self-published" materials, getting anything copied was never quick and never anonymous.

The official reasons for all these controls -- to prevent the copying of confidential documents in a state obsessed with secrecy and to thwart counterfeiters -- were valid, Izvestia said, noting as well that "the primary goal was to prevent the proliferation of undesirable texts" in the Soviet Union.

"From the first days of Soviet power," the paper added, "even typewriters were put under tight supervision, and that incidentally was abolished only recently."

V. Vashenko, the chief of the Second Department of the Main Directorate of Protecting Public Order, told Izvestia that, in fact, new technology has overtaken the controls on photocopiers.

With computers, optical scanners, laser printers and other equipment for desk-top publishing able "to produce a whole newspaper" and not subject to the same strict controls as photocopiers, the regulations governing copiers have become pointless.

"It is simply impossible to control this process now," Vashenko told Izvestia.

Once so rare that access was limited to top government and Communist Party officials, scientists at the most prestigious research institutes and the KGB, the state security agency, photocopiers have proliferated to the extent that political activists of almost every kind have easy access to them.

SUBJECT: USSR -- SECURITY; PHOTOCOPIERS; BUREAUCRACY; USSR -- GOVERNMENT AGENCIES; CONFIDENTIALITY; PUBLIC ACCESS

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Proprietary to the United Press International 1980

October 01, 1980, Wednesday, PM cycle

SECTION: International

LENGTH: 290 words

DATELINE: MOSCOW

KEYWORD: Dissidents

BODY:

A trial of a dissident member of an underground journal began today in what appeared to be the last stage of a post-Olympics sweep of dissident movements within the Soviet Union.

Valery Abramkin, a 32-year-old engineer, faced charges under Article 190 of the criminal code of slander against the state. Friends said he was planning to plead not guilty.

Abramkin was an editor of Poiski, a samizdat (underground) magazine meaning The Search, which started publication in mid-1978. The verdict was expected Thursday.

A fellow editor, Viktor Sokirko, 41, received a suspended sentence of three years Tuesday, also for slander. Sokirko did not plead guilty to the charge of slander, but did admit that publication of his works abroad could be considered anti-Soviet, according to friends outside the courtroom. The stiffest sentence he could have received was three years in a labor camp.

Only family members were admitted to the trial, said friends who had been kept out.

A third editor, Yuri Grimm, a 45-year-old worker, was scheduled to go on trial Oct. 8.

All three were arrested during the a wave of crackdowns at the turn of the year. Poiski stood out from other underground publications for trying to be a forum for all manner of ideas and philosophies, rather than following a particular line. Eight issues were published.

''Think that a country with millions of newspapers and magazines is so afraid of a magazine with 20 copies per issue,'' said one sympathizer.

Since the Olympics, trials have been conducted against a wide spectrum of dissidents, including religious critics, those attacking alleged abuse of psychiatric treatment in the Soviet Union, and now writers.

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47TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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July 10, 1988, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; PAGE C7

LENGTH: 867 words

HEADLINE: Still the 'Dual Russia'

BYLINE: David Remnick

DATELINE: LENINGRAD

BODY:

"Underground literature is dying -- samizdat is just finished in this country," a young Soviet journalist and music critic said here the other day. The funny thing was, he was smiling.

Nearby, on the steps of a Leningrad movie theater, hundreds of members of a new Leningrad group called the "Popular Front" signed petitions and made speeches lambasting Communist Party bureaucrats. And the funny thing was, they were carrying poster portraits of Mikhail Gorbachev and chanting his name.

So many strange and unprecedented events are taking place in the Soviet Union that the old stunt of Sovietology -- cramming an entire political culture into a single theoretical cubbyhole -- is an obviously lame exercise. But one of the dominant themes that certainly has come out of the remarkable Communist Party conference is the sense among many Soviets that the historic gulf between the state and the people -- what historians such as Robert Tucker have called the "dual Russia" -- is slowly narrowing.

The idea that the official press can publish the interesting and the forbidden, that the ideas of dissidents have become the platform of rulers, has electrified the Soviet Union. Very little in Russian or Soviet history has prepared this country for such an event.

For centuries, under czars and general secretaries, the Russian people have lived under a government imposed upon -- rather than selected by -- them. For centuries the people have referred to the government as "they." And the intelligentsia has always been characterized, according to the liberal writer Peter Struve, by "its estrangement from the state and its hostility toward it."

Suddenly that estrangement, that distance from the state, is not what it was. If Gorbachev has succeeded at any one thing, it has been to win over Soviet teachers, writers, professors and artists. No leader, Soviet or Russian, has gone farther in making the intelligentsia work for him. To a limited degree, Gorbachev has joined intellectuals in saying that the Communist Party has been part of the problem, not the solution, in the mangled history of this country.

But the conference has also proved that Gorbachev himself does not represent the entire political and emotional spectrum of the Communist Party. Gorbachev's second in command, Yegor Ligachev, has very different ideas about the sanctity of the Communist Party, and he has little affection for writers and editors who would trash the party's sainted history.

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In rebutting the radical ex-Politburo maverick, Boris Yeltsin, Ligachev strutted to the podium at the conference with all the confidence of a man who knew he had the room, and the heart of the party regulars, on his side. He ripped all the "ersatz" newspapers that dared to print editorials against the privileges of the party, the voices who have spoken out about the elite's special grocery stores, cars, summer homes and apartments.

The only privilege party workers have, Ligachev told the gathered delegates, was "the privilege of serving the people." When Ligachev said this on the evening news, the people I was watching television with cringed and booed. But the applause in the Kremlin hall was tremendous.

On the streets of Leningrad and Moscow, people are still angry about Ligachev's speech. Nothing could have symbolized better to them the persistence of "dual Russia" than a key figure in the leadership speaking up, unembarrassed, for the elite. "Ligachev really showed himself for who he is," said Valery Esinovski, a Leningrad doctor who was at the "National Front" rally. "And he showed it without fear."

Gorbachev, of course, was cagier at the conference, playing the fox to Ligachev's bulldog. Still, he was sure to denounce any change in a one-party system, and even made sure in his discussions of bureaucrats to praise as well as criticize.

Understandably, the sheer history-making openness of the party conference overwhelmed everyone here, and there is a certain air of self-satisfaction in the press. But soon the speeches will be sorted out for what they were, for the various traditions or innovations they represented, and Ligachev's speech, one of the most popular of all, will be seen for what it was: a defense of the old guard.

Cars and summer homes are mere symbols of the true issue at stake for the Communist Party. What is at stake is the prerogative of power.

Gorbachev has introduced a series of reforms designed to bring nonparty members into the political process through multicandidate elections and other democratic means. But he has, by proposing to make regional party leaders the automatic chairmen of local governing bodies, ensured that the party will continue to have the dominant hand not only in the formulation of ideology but also in the administration of economic, cultural and political life.

At the rally in Leningrad, one banner stood out: "The state should serve the people. The people do not serve the state." But with Gorbachev forced to contend with the forces that Ligachev represents and his own loyalties to the one-party system, it is hard to see how the "dual Russia" can become one anytime soon. The writer is a Moscow correspondent for The Post.

GRAPHIC: SYMBOL

TYPE: OPINION EDITORIAL

SUBJECT: U.S.S.R.; COMMUNISM; POLITICS

NAMED-PERSONS: MIKHAIL GORBACHEV; BORIS YELTSIN; YEGOR LIGACHEV

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86TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Christian Science Monitor

March 5, 1985, Tuesday

SECTION: Pg. 1

LENGTH: 1199 words

Just got computers in USSR

HEADLINE: Computer age comes to Soviet Union byte by byte

BYLINE: By Gary Thatcher, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

DATELINE: Moscow

BODY:

ONE young subway passenger noticed that another had an English-language instruction manual for a personal computer. He took a seat next to him and began comparing notes on new programs.

Quietly but inexorably, personal computers are stealing a march into the Soviet Union. And they're doing it with the active encouragement of the Communist government.

Some analysts in the West suggest the leadership is opening a Pandora's box, predicting that wider use of computers will run counter to its rigid control of information. However, there is increasing evidence that the Soviet hierarchy has decided to promote the use of personal computers.

More than that, the Soviet leadership seems to believe that the devices can be put to their own political ends. One commentator, perhaps presaging a future government policy, has called for some form of international control over computers and microtechnology, in language reminiscent of Soviet-backed calls for a ''new world information and economic order.''

To be sure, the Soviets are playing catch-up when it comes to personal computers. The single Soviet table-top model computer, the Agat, is modeled closely after the Apple II, a United States computer. Other Western products have also found their way here. Often the Soviets do not even bother translating software or instruction manuals from English into their own language. And, for the most part, the Soviets have picked up the Western computer vocabulary.

The stage is now set for even greater use of personal computers here. On Jan. 1, the US lifted some restrictions against their export to the Soviet bloc. Soviet officials are reportedly shopping for thousands of models in the West as part of an ambitious program to acquaint schoolchildren with computers.

Yevgeny Ershov, who heads the program, writes that basic computer courses will be taught for 60 hours during the ninth grade. Another 100 hours of laboratory time will be required. Another 80 hours of instruction and 300 hours of lab time will be included in high schools. Other courses are planned for vocational-technical schools.

Officials hope this effort will create a new class of computer users, helping break what one calls a ''vicious cycle'' in which interest in personal

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computers is limited to a scientific elite. That means there is little demand for them - and this country's centrally planned economy therefore does not produce them.

Yevgeny Velikhov, an official of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, has admitted that Soviet computer production is only gauged in ''tens of units'' a year.

A number of Western commentators have blamed the low production on an inherent suspicion of computers among Soviet authorities. After all, the commentators note, the basis of computerization is the processing of information - a commodity over which the Soviet state exercises tight control.

Computers can, after all, be used in the printing of samizdat (self-published) dissident literature. And data can be sent via phone lines, making it harder for security police to intercept them.

While these are undoubtedly problems for the Soviet leadership, the authorities seem prepared to deal with them. Indeed, much of the push for computerization seems to have come from the upper reaches of the Communist Party itself. The party has even planned a special meeting this spring devoted to science and technology.

And the government-controlled press has printed a number of articles encouraging the use of computers and new technology - something that would be unthinkable without Communist Party approval. Judging from these articles, the reasons for the push seem to be threefold:

* The Soviet leadership realizes that it must not fall further behind the West in the use of new technology.

* Increasing use of computers seems inevitable if this country's economy is to be modernized.

* The government apparently thinks it can create a sort of ideology governing computer applications and use.

Valentin Ponomaryev, chief of the Academy of Science's Leningrad Computer Center, interviewed in the newspaper Literary Gazette, argued that personal computers are ''without a doubt'' a necessity in the Soviet Union.

He suggests that it is not too late to introduce them here, noting that it was ''only yesterday'' that they were introduced in the West.

But while people with ''vile instincts'' in the West are using computers for such things as ''war games with political overtones,'' he says, computer games in the Soviet Union can be put to constructive ends. Computers will not make for lazy minds, he argues. Instead, the burdens of petty thought processes will be taken away and Soviet minds will be freed for ''concentration on their spiritual and creative growth.''

Some commentators wonder how Soviet strategy should be shaped to cope with a worldwide technological revolution. In an article that sparked interest in the West, Fyodor Burlatsky, an authoritative columnist for Literary Gazette, wrote: ''We must realize that this new revolution will completely change the look and substance of the world industrial base in a relatively short historical

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period.''

The priorities of industrialization have changed, he writes, and electronics and communication now take first place as a measure of a country's influence and development. ''Many professions and even whole branches of industry are becoming obsolete,'' he says.

What is taking place, he says, is nothing less than ''the reshaping of the world industrial map.'' How it will be redrawn ''depends on to what degree these countries master the new technology.''

''Wars in electronics, information systems, steel, and agriculture are already changing the ratio of strength among the industrial giants. In the war of technology the US and Japan have the advantage.''

He suggests an alliance between socialist and third-world countries could be used to press for bringing new technologies under the control of agencies like UNESCO and other ''international economic organizations.''

Soviet-backed calls for a ''new world information order'' were cited as one reason for US withdrawal from UNESCO last year. But Mr. Burlatski seems to be suggesting that, instead of dropping such demands, Communist and third-world nations should be broadening them.

That, of course, runs directly counter to the sort of free-wheeling entrepeneurship championed by the Reagan adminstration. Consequently, Burlatsky's arguments could be the opening round in yet another debate that pits the US against the Soviet Union and many developing countries.

Running programmy on a kompyuter

The Russian language has always shown a remarkable ability to assimilate foreign terminology. Often, a slight change in spelling or a new ending gives a Slavic sound, but the foreign root remains the same.

That's especially true of kompyuter terminology. And it will probably be even more pronounced, as more and more personalnnye kompyutery are introduced here. The government's goal is to have thousands of Soviet citizens comfortably sitting in front of a displei inserting diski and running programmy.

Who knows? Many of them might even end up being programmisty.

GRAPHIC: Picture, Soviet electronic parts plant: computers for political ends, CLAYTON JONES

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Committee to Protect Journalists

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FACSIMILE MEMO:

DATE: March 28, 1990

TO: Stephanie Blessey
Researcher
Room 111

FROM: Sonia Goldenberg
Executive Director

COMMENTS:

Following are summaries of cases you requested. I have federal expressed a package of information that you should be receiving tomorrow.

Regards,

Sonia

If you have any questions, please call.

9 PAGE (S) SENT + COVER

Executive Director: Sonia Goldenberg
CPJ Affiliates: *London*, Caroline Moorehead, The Independent • *Toronto*, Nicholas

CASES IN THE SOVIET UNION/ EASTERN EUROPE

SERGEI KUZNETSOV

Sergei Kuznetsov, an independent Soviet journalist, was arrested in December 1988 at a human rights rally in the city of Sverdlovsk. After being held in jails and psychiatric hospitals for eight months, he was released in July 1989 pending trial on charges of slander and resisting police.

Kuznetsov, who worked as a correspondent for the samizdat publications Ekspress-Khronika and Glasnost, was arrested again after criticizing a KGB official. He was sentenced on November 28 to three years' imprisonment. On appeal in January of this year, the slander charge was changed to "insulting" and the sentence was reduced to six months. The charge of resisting arrest was dropped. Kuznetsov was freed because of time already served.

JIRI DIENSTBIER

Jiri Dienstbier (pronounced YEER-zhee DEENST-beer) is Czechoslovakia's new foreign minister. Before the revolution in November, however, he had been chairman of the editorial board of what was then Czechoslovakia's leading samizdat newspaper, Lidove Noviny (pronounced LI-do-veh NO-vi-nee).

Dienstbier's telephone was disconnected by authorities late last year. In 1979, he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for his membership in the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted (VONS), a human rights organization.

Dienstbier worked from 1958 to 1969 as a reporter and commentator for Czechoslovak Radio. He was among those journalists who continued to broadcast illegally after the Warsaw Pact invasion in 1968. He was later fired from the Czechoslovak Radio and expelled from the Union of Journalists and Communist Party. He then worked as a night watchman and a stoker.

Committee to Protect Journalists

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State
647-3187

Nicaragua's La Prensa has long been a pivotal institution in the country. The 1978 murder of its publisher, Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, helped carry the Sandinistas to victory; its publisher since then, his widow Violeta Chamorro is now the country's president-elect.

Soon after the Sandinistas took power, the paper became a vocal critic of the regime and the Sandinistas reacted harshly. La Prensa came under heavy prior censorship in 1982 when the government imposed a state of siege; the daily was forced to close altogether in 1986.

Not until Esquipulas II peace accords were signed in 1987 did the paper reappear. By 1988, it was regularly on the streets, attacking the Sandinista government with fervor. Though La Prensa published without prior censorship, it was frequently harassed. Its journalists reported government-sponsored threats and attacks, and other forms of intimidation were common as well. For example, pro-government mobs known as "turbas" would show up at its offices, chanting slogans and menacing its employees.

In April 1988, a newsprint shortage forced the paper to stop printing for a week. La Prensa blamed the Sandinista government's policy of descrimination in allotment, and government officials refused to allow direct replacement shipments of newsprint from the United States.

During the election period that brought Ms. Chamorro to power, journalists at La Prensa reported an end to the previous type of harassment, but it was clear that the Interior Ministry continued to monitor the daily's every word.

El Espectador began exposing the ills of drug trafficking more than a decade ago, and it has paid a heavy price. On December 17, 1986, the paper's editor-in-chief, Guillermo Cano, was gunned down. Colombian courts ordered reputed drug kingpin Pablo Escobar to stand trial as intellectual author of the crime. El Espectador's lawyer in the case was murdered in 1989, just weeks after one of the court decisions.

At least 11 journalists were killed in Colombia in 1989, two of them from El Espectador. Many of those who were killed died in apparent retaliation for their anti-drug-trafficking stance. In September, just days after traffickers declared all-out war against the country's democratic institutions, a powerful bomb exploded at its Bogota office injured more than 80 people and caused about $2.5 million in damages.

Two of the paper's non-journalist employees were murdered in Medellin in October by "the extraditables." El Espectador was warned by the paramilitary group to stop circulating in the area.

The international press community rallied behind Colombia's battered press, sending more than a million dollars in aid to El Espectador and other media.

The Committee to Protect Journalists
Mrs. Caroline Drake

Prague, November 10, 1989

Dear Mrs. Drake,

we are moved by your support for Lidové noviny and its arrested editors, Jiří Ruml and Rudolf Zeman. It is for us of great moral importance. But we hope it will also have some practical influence. Solidarity both at home and abroad often helps to release people from prison without trial or at least to lower prison terms.

Your support helps us in our fight for freedom of expression and the right of journalists to work without interference. It is especially important now in Czechoslovakia, the last Center European country in which freedom of press is harshly violated and journalists are put in prison because of their responsible work devoted to the truth.

Yours sincerely

Jiří Dienstbier
Chairman of the Editorial Board
Lidové noviny

Jiří Dienstbier
Nekázanka 17
110 00 Praha 1
Czechoslovakia

March 28, 1990

TO: STEPHANIE BLESSEY
White House
Fax No. 456-6218

FROM: Nancy Andiorio
ASNE (Phone: 703-648-1144)
FAX NO.091-703-620-4557

Attached - 3 pages

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS

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AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS 1989-90

The American Society of Newspaper Editors is an organization of more than 1,000 editors of daily newspapers in the United States and Canada. Directing editors having immediate charge of editorial or news policies of daily newspapers and four wire services are eligible to join. ASNE was founded in 1922. Its principal purpose has always been to serve as a medium for exchange of ideas and the professional growth and development of its members.

Governance

ASNE is governed by a 20-member board of directors. Directors are elected by members for three-year terms. The directors, in turn, annually elect the Society's four officers.

1989-90 Committees

ASNE is a volunteer-run organization, and most of the work of the Society is accomplished by the standing committees. A brief description of the 20 current committees follows:

• **The Bulletin.** This nine-times-yearly magazine is the nation's oldest journalism review. It is sent free to ASNE members and is available to non-members by subscription ($20 1-yr.; $35 2-yr.; $45 3-yr.; $25 per year foreign). The Bulletin Editorial Board is headed by Beverly Kees, Fresno (Calif.) Bee.

• **Convention Program.** Susan Miller, Scripps Howard, Cincinnati, chairs the Program Committee. Convention attendance is limited to ASNE members, their sponsored guests and journalism educators. Emphasis is on public issues and newsroom problems. The 1990 dates are April 3-6 at the J. W. Marriott Hotel in Washington, D.C.

• **Education for Journalism.** This ASNE group works closely with journalism educators to strengthen journalism schools and the accreditation process. The committee strives to increase private support of J-schools and enhance the role of newspaper professionals on journalism faculties. The committee and board of directors have taken strong positions supporting accrediting principles that require students to devote at least 90 semester hours of their undergraduate training to liberal arts courses. A study is under way to determine how journalism education is changing, and the implications of the growth of non-news/editorial segments. Robert Giles, Detroit News, chairs the committee.

• **Ethics.** The Ethics Committee has published a number of books and surveys examining the complex ethical decisions that journalists encounter in their work. The Committee recently developed a self-administered ethics audit for editors to measure how well informed their newsroom staffs are on ethics questions and policies, and surveyed journalism students to find out what they learn about ethics. The committee is currently examining how well newspapers cover themselves, the impact on ethics of technological developments in the newsroom, and the use of unnamed sources. ASNE's Statement of Principles is frequently consulted in matters of journalism ethics. The Ethics Committee chair is J. Keith Moyer, Fort Myers (Fla.) News-Press.

• **First Amendment.** A commemoration of the bicentennial of the adoption of the Bill of Rights and the First Amendment is under way. Among the projects are a book, newspaper series, and television programs. John Seigenthaler, Nashville Tennessean/USA Today, is the chair.

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 MARRY, Ames Daily Tribune; SUSAN MILLER, Scripps Howard; TED NATT, Longview Daily News; ROLFE NEILL, Charlotte Observer; JEAN OTTO, Rocky Mountain News; ARNOLD ROSENFELD, Atlanta Journal/Constitution; JOHN SEIGENTHALER, Nashville Tennessean; JAMES D. SQUIRES, Chicago Tribune

• **Freedom of Information.** For many years the Society's Freedom of Information Committee has campaigned actively against secrecy in government and to open channels of official information at federal, local and state levels. Along with ASNE legal counsel, Richard M. Schmidt Jr., members of the FoI Committee frequently testify before Congress. Many of the activities of the committee are financed by ASNE's First Amendment Fund, to which members and their newspapers make voluntary contributions. The committee is working with newspapers to assist high school journalists in dealing with the effects of the Hazelwood decision. Another project is to examine how computers can be used in investigative work. Craig Klugman, Fort Wayne (Ind.) Journal-Gazette, chairs the committee.

• **Future of Newspapers.** This committee exists to identify news and editorial issues and possible actions that will affect the continuing health and vigor of a free and diverse press. A number of important reports have been published, including "The Next Newspapers," which describes the changing environment in which newspapers operate; "Technology and the Future," exploring pagination, digital cameras, personal computers, electronic data bases, and how they affect the newsroom; and a self-completed extended questionnaire for editors — "Constructing the Future: A Self-Test for Editors." The committee is developing new ideas in newspaper content and design through prototypes and focus groups. A major report will be delivered at the 1990 ASNE convention. Ron Martin, Atlanta Journal and Constitution, chairs the committee.

• **History of Newspapers.** This committee's goal is to promote the preservation of newspaper memorabilia. The committee currently is pursuing the following ideas: compiling a list of institutions and organizations that maintain historical documents on newspapers and encouraging newspapers to preserve records and artifacts. The committee will also look into the creation of a newspaper hall of fame and a newspaper museum or library. ASNE's President Loren Ghiglione has planned a major exhibit at the Library of Congress on "The American Journalist" during the 1990 convention. Chair of this committee is Jay Ambrose, Rocky Mountain News, Denver.

• **Human Resources.** This committee has produced a popular Newsroom Management Handbook and published a landmark study of the newsroom work force, "The Changing Face of the Newsroom." Among the committee's current activities is an examination of gay/lesbian issues in the newsroom. Reid MacCluggage, New London (Conn.) Day, chairs the committee.

• **International Communication.** ASNE's International Communication Committee represents American editors in international forums and supports world press freedom. The committee organized and funds an ongoing American-based training program for foreign journalists, which brings a dozen journalists to the United States for training each year. Also, the International Communication Committee plans foreign trips for editors, including regular reciprocal visits with the USSR. The committee monitors international developments affecting freedom of information and issues statements and protests when foreign governments attempt censorship or when journalists are threatened or harmed. Committee chairman is Seymour Topping, New York Times Company.

• **Literacy.** ASNE's committee educates the press about problems of illiteracy in America. The Literacy Committee has developed public service announcements plugging literacy programs, along with informational materials for editors. This year the committee will assess the readability level of newspapers. The committee is headed by Jane Healy, Orlando (Fla.) Sentinel.

• **Membership.** The Membership Committee recruits and screens member applications for submission to the board of directors. To join the Society, editors must meet the following criteria prescribed in the ASNE bylaws: "Persons of suitable qualifications who are directing editors having immediate charge of editorial or news policies of daily newspapers which, in the opinion of the directors, shall have attained adequate journalistic standards are eligible for membership. Membership shall also be open to directing editors of AP, UPI, Reuters, and Canadian Press." The ASNE bylaws also provide for a retired membership category. ASNE dues are $375 for members from newspapers that are over 25,000 circulation, $225 for editors of 10,000-25,000-circulation newspapers, and $100 for editors of under 10,000-circulation papers. Retired member dues are $50. There is a $250 initiation fee for new members from over-25,000-circulation newspapers. The Membership Committee is headed by William Hilliard, Portland Oregonian.

• **Minorities.** ASNE has worked hard to increase the number of minority journalists in newspaper newsrooms. ASNE's goal is to achieve representation of minorities in newsrooms equal to that in the general population by the year 2000, or sooner. The Minorities Committee currently has a wide-ranging program to heighten industry awareness and increase the flow of minorities into journalism. ASNE monitors the employment of minorities through an annual survey of all U.S. newspapers. The 1989 survey showed that 7.54 percent of full-time

professional newsroom employees are minorities. A series of 18 regional conferences for editors and aspiring minority journalists is scheduled for 1989-90. Currently, around $560,000 is being channelled into ASNE's minorities programs. Among the projects of current interest to the committee are encouraging newspapers to start high school newspapers in school districts with large minority enrollments and studying retention and promotion issues. Minorities Committee chairman is Mervin Aubespin, Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal.

• **Newspapers and the Disabled.** The committee will explore the hiring practices and performance of newspaper editorial departments in the areas of recruitment and employment of disabled journalists as well as analyze coverage of the disabled. Michael Lloyd, Grand Rapids (Mich.) Press, is the chair of this one-year committee.

• **Nominations.** Nominees for the board of directors are selected by the Nominations Committee, after careful study of members' qualifications, including service to the Society. Ted Natt, Longview (Wash.) Daily News, is chairman.

• **Ownership.** The committee this year will explore reader and editor/owner perceptions about newspaper ownership, as well as changes that are occurring in ownership. Chairman of this committee is William Ketter, Quincy (Mass.) Patriot Ledger.

• **Press, Bar and Public Affairs.** This committee, which works closely with the FoI group, has been effective in opening lines of communication between the press and the legal and judicial communities as well as the military. Its purpose is to stimulate understanding and support of free-press principles among attorneys and judges, and to heighten awareness of editors to concerns of the bar and bench. The committee participates in a number of training programs for judges, including the National Judicial College and the annual federal judicial conference. ASNE organizes program segments on the free press/fair trial issue at these events. A project for the current year is to develop information on privacy/open records issues. Chairman of the committee is Jean Otto, Rocky Mountain News, Denver.

• **Prison Journalism.** This committee will examine the prison press and the role editors of daily newspapers can play in helping to train prison journalists. Among the projects planned are workshops at penitentiaries and providing outlets in daily newspapers for features written by prisoners. Acel Moore, Philadelphia Inquirer, heads up this one-year committee.

• **Readership and Research.** This committee sponsors and manages major research projects intended to improve newspapers, and distributes practical information to editors on making newspapers more appealing to readers. Research focusing on infrequent, at-risk and potential readers is under way. Gregory Favre, Sacramento (Calif.) Bee, chairs the committee.

• **Writing Awards.** ASNE makes five awards annually to recognize outstanding writing in daily newspapers. The 1990 awards will cite high achievement in commentary, editorial writing, deadline writing, non-deadline writing, and state and local government reporting. A book showcasing the entries of the Distinguished Writing Awards winners is published each year by the Poynter Institute. Writing Awards Board chairman is John Driscoll, Boston Globe.

ASNE Foundation

The Society created a nonprofit foundation in 1979 to help fund worthy projects generated by ASNE committees and the ASNE Board. The Foundation disburses about $250,000 for such projects. William Burleigh, Scripps Howard, is ASNEF president.

Headquarters and staff

ASNE headquarters in Reston, Va., handles the administrative work of the Society and is an information clearinghouse on a wide variety of questions and problems relating to newspapers. The staff is headed by Lee Stinnett, executive director. ASNE minority affairs director is Mireille Grangenois Gates, and Elise S. Burroughs is publications director. Christine Schmitt and Nancy Andiorio are administrative assistants and Suzanne Jenkins is secretary. Richard M. Schmidt Jr. of the Washington law firm of Cohn and Marks is ASNE legal counsel. The ASNE mailing address is P.O. Box 17004, Washington, DC 20041. Telephone (703) 648-1144.

June 1, 1989

Newspapers 2:28 Fri Lunch Hamm

- Foreign Minister Genscher (?)
298-4000

yes

4 - Armand Hammer (857-3035 Jack Kin
- will be there to hear the President speak (but may not be there to eat)

4 - Governor Blanchard (517)373-8500
will be there

yes - Senator Bill Bradley 224-3224
224-3121

N - Congressman Solarz 225-2361
will not be there during
2:15

2:28

NEWSPAPER EDITORS\MARRIOTT HOTEL
FRIDAY, APRIL 6, 1990\2:28 P.M.

PRESIDENT GHILIONE [GILL-YO-NEE], FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER, DR. ARMAND HAMMER, GOVERNOR BLANCHARD, BURL OSBORNE, SUSAN MILLER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, HONORED GUESTS. I AM HAPPY FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO ADDRESS YOU ON THE 300TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER.

((LAST YEAR I SPOKE FOR MORE THAN TWENTY MINUTES. 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, MY REMARKS WILL BE SHORT. AFTER ALL, OURS IS "THE INFORMATION AGE" -- SO I THOUGHT I'D LEAVE PLENTY OF TIME FOR Q & A. // BUT I WOULD LIKE TO TALK FOR A FEW MOMENTS ABOUT HOW AS INFORMATION TRAVELS FROM ONE PLACE IN THE WORLD TO ANOTHER IN THE BLINK OF AN EYE, OUR WORLD HAS BECOME EVER-SMALLER. SO THAT WHAT HAPPENS IN TEXARKANA AFFECTS TOKYO AND TIBLISI [TI-BLEE-SEE]. //

LIKE YOU, I FIND THE INFORMATION AGE FASCINATING. ITS CONSEQUENCES ARE MANY: FROM THE GROWING GLOBAL DEMAND FOR A SAFE AND CLEAN ENVIRONMENT, TO NATIONS UNITING AGAINST THE SCOURGE OF CRIME AND DRUGS. THE INFORMATION AGE HAS HELPED LIBERTY SPREAD FROM NICARAGUA TO THE HEART OF CENTRAL EUROPE -- WHAT I CALL THE "REVOLUTION OF '89." FOR AS PEOPLE COME TO **KNOW** MORE OF THE FREE WORLD, THEY DEMAND THEIR OWN WORLD OF FREEDOM. FREE ELECTIONS // FREE MARKETS // FREE WILL UNHAMPERED BY THE STATE. //

~~EARLIER TODAY, I MET WITH SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE AND WE DISCUSSED MANY OF THESE ISSUES. [SHEVARDNAZDE INSERT]~~

As you know, I met this morning w/ Foreign Min. Shev. Lithuania was a key point of discussion. I reiterated the strong U.S. view that the issue must be dealt with through peaceful means. We support the right of the Lithuanian people to self-determination, and have never recognized forcible incorporation of the Baltic States into the S.U.. I told Minister Shev, that this is an issue that could adversely affect the prospects for

AMERICA'S NEWSPAPERS, OF COURSE, WILL REPORT THE NEWS OF THIS MORNING'S MEETING. JUST AS THEY HAVE FOR CENTURIES -- TELLING THE TRUTH, INFORMING THE PUBLIC AS FAIRLY AND RESPONSIBLY AS POSSIBLE, AND LETTING THE CHIPS FALL WHERE THEY MAY. AND I KNOW THAT THE **BEST** EXAMPLE OF TODAY'S INFORMATION AGE WILL **CONTINUE** TO BE A FREE PRESS. // WHAT MAKES THE "REVOLUTION OF '89" SO **UNPRECEDENTED** IS THAT AT LAST, AN INCREASING NUMBER OF FOREIGN JOURNALISTS ARE **ALSO FREE** -- AS WELL AS **ABLE** -- TO WRITE THE TRUTH WITHOUT CENSORSHIP OR FEAR. // REPORTERS, COMMENTATORS, AND EDITORS ABROAD WHO HAVE GONE FROM **INSTRUMENTS OF THE STATE** TO **SERVANTS OF THE PEOPLE**. //

LET ME TAKE A MOMENT TO NOTE ONE JOURNALIST WHO IS **NOT** FREE -- AND WHO IS IN OUR THOUGHTS. TERRY ANDERSON. WE HOPE, AND PRAY, THAT HE WILL SOON BE FREE. // HE, MORE THAN ANYONE, WOULD BE MOVED BY THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO IN 1989 AND '90 HAVE UPHELD THE TRADITION OF A COURAGEOUS FREE PRESS.

progress in U.S. - Soviet relations
Rio and urged the S.U. to begin
a good-faith dialogue with Lithuania.

We want, and we believe the Soviets want, to make further progress in U.S. - Soviet relations. We are working toward important agreements in the area of arms control and to make progress on human rights and the solution of regional conflicts. I asked Min. Shev. to convey to Pres. Gorbachev that I am looking forward to his visit to the United States at the end of May.

IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, A PLAYWRIGHT BECOMES PRESIDENT. BOTH HIS FOREIGN MINISTER AND CHIEF SPOKESMAN ARE FORMER JOURNALISTS PERSECUTED BY THE COMMUNIST REGIME FOR YEARS. // IN COLOMBIA, THE RESPECTED EDITOR OF EL ESPECTADOR IS SLAIN BY ASSASSINS. BUT THE MURDERED EDITOR'S BROTHER BECOMES PUBLISHER, AND VOWS TO FIGHT -- AND DOES. "WE CANNOT BACK DOWN," HE SAYS. //

A BOMB LAST YEAR INJURED OVER 70 EMPLOYEES OF THAT SAME NEWSPAPER. MOST OF ITS FACILITIES WERE 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 ESPECTADOR TO SHOW SUPPORT. // AND IN NICARAGUA, VIOLETA DE CHAMORRO, FORMER EDITOR AND WIFE OF A MURDERED PUBLISHER, BECOMES PRESIDENT OF THE LAND THEY LOVED. FREEDOM OF THE PRESS BEGETS FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLE.//

EARLIER, I MENTIONED THAT AS MEN AND WOMEN COME TO KNOW MORE OF THE WORLD, THEY DEMAND THEIR OWN WORLD OF FREEDOM. THE FREEDOM TO HELP PEOPLE UP -- AND KEEP BUREAUCRACIES DOWN. WELL, THIS WEEK, OUR TALKS WITH JAPAN FOCUSED ON THAT FREEDOM -- THE ABILITY OF PEOPLE TO TRADE AND INVEST AS THEY WISH. JUST AS THEY MUST BE FREE TO DREAM, THINK, AND VOTE AS THEY CHOOSE.

THIS MORNING, I READ A QUOTE BY A JAPANESE BUSINESSMAN THAT DEMONSTRATED THIS POINT. HE WAS TALKING ABOUT THE ESSENCE OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE -- COMPETITION. "WHAT THE AMERICANS ARE SAYING IS TOTALLY CORRECT," HE SAID ABOUT KEEPING PRICES LOW AND QUALITY HIGH. "THEY ARE TALKING ABOUT DEMOCRACY." //

LAST NIGHT, JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES RELEASED THE INTERIM REPORT ON OUR STRUCTURAL IMPEDIMENTS INITIATIVE DESIGNED TO REMOVE STRUCTURAL BARRIERS TO TRADE IN BOTH COUNTRIES. THE SII IS A UNIQUE UNDERTAKING, AND REFLECTS ENORMOUS AMOUNTS OF HARD WORK ON EACH SIDE. THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN AND PRIME MINISTER KAIFU HAVE SHOWED GREAT LEADERSHIP.

FOR THE FIRST TIME, JAPAN HAS COMMITTED TO REMOVING A BROAD ARRAY OF STRUCTURAL BARRIERS THAT CONSTRAIN TRADE AND IMPEDE IMPORTS. // FOR ITS PART, THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO ADDRESS THE STRUCTURAL ISSUES IDENTIFIED BY JAPAN BY IMPROVING THE COMPETITIVENESS OF OUR OWN ECONOMY.

BECAUSE STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS ARE DEEPLY INGRAINED IN BOTH ECONOMIES, COMPLETE RESULTS WILL NOT COME QUICKLY. BUT THEY CAN, AND MUST, COME. NEITHER THE JAPANESE CONSUMER NOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL BE CONVINCED THAT PROGRESS IS AT HAND UNTIL THEY SEE RESULTS. THIS INTERIM REPORT SHOWS NOT ONLY SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS ON TRADE ISSUES, BUT IS AN IMPORTANT WAY STATION LEADING TO A STRENGTHENED U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONSHIP.

Nexis on

Adam Michnik
Univ, Bucuresti
Romania

Tadeusz Mazowiecki

child care

Michael Zantovsky
Chief Spokesman for Czech.

THE INFORMATION AGE HAS SERVED AS A CATALYST OF COOPERATION, A CONDUIT OF KNOWLEDGE, AND AN ADVOCATE OF FREEDOM. AS EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR HAVE SHOWN, THE FREE PRESS REPRESENTS THE VERY ESSENCE OF THAT AGE. // YOU HAVE HELPED WRITE THE FIRST DRAFT OF HISTORY. AND BREATHED NEW LIFE INTO DEMOCRACY. // FOR THAT, I THANK YOU -- AND CONGRATULATE YOU ON THIS WONDERFUL ANNIVERSARY. GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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