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TIME

Donald Morrison
(212) 522-4545

May 10, 1990

Paul Luthringer:

Enclosed are copies of Deadline, the magazine of the Overseas Press Club, to which you kindly arranged to have the President contribute a message. The magazine is being distributed this week to leading journalists, government officials and diplomats.

Thanks again for your gracious support.

Donald Morrison

ARTICLE BY PRESIDENT BUSH
OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB DINNER PROGRAM

When the Overseas Press Club was founded, 50 years ago, an isolationist United States stood at the edge of entering World War II. It was a far away war, a "European War," and we learned most of the news of that war through foreign correspondents.

Edward R. Murrow was the voice that brought many of us together around the radio in our living rooms, describing the tragedy of war. Suddenly, it wasn't just a "European war," it was our war, too.

While the basic tenets of news reporting haven't changed much since that time, the way news is delivered has changed dramatically. We still get our news via radio and newspapers, but also by computer, fax machine and television. Edward R. Murrow's voice is gone. Now pictures are brought into our living rooms, often live pictures of events that unfold as we watch.

The nature of business has changed as well. Round the clock trading at American and foreign financial markets ensures that international investors have a 24-hour-a-day job, for the news that moves markets never stops. Business news wires have made information the currency of the financial world. What was once a lofty concept -- a global marketplace -- is now a reality.

All this is good. It is progress. But, as we make our way speedily toward new and probably even faster ways of communications, we also must step back and think. The

competition in the information business is intense -- both in hard news and business information.

You are information managers. People buy and sell stocks, bonds, real estate and commodities partly based on information that comes across the wires or the various electronic media. Political decisions can be altered based on information that is carried on television or radio or in print.

Our country is unique in its historic protection of freedom of the press. And the press has a unique history of responsible reporting. With the speed with which information is transferred today, that tradition of accuracy and reliability becomes even more crucial.

International reporting has played a great role in educating all peoples of the world on foreign diplomacy. The press plays a daily role in the message that is projected to both our allies and our adversaries, and the nature of public disclosure is affected greatly as a result.

The information explosion has placed a demand on democracy, but a democratic society is uniquely suited to such an extraordinary flow of information, both incoming and outgoing. A free and open society can prosper and survive in the information age, and foreign correspondents are in many ways the lifeblood of that survival.

The world is changing fast, and is often a very dangerous place. Those correspondents who have put themselves in the line of fire, taking risky posts in perilous places, deserve our thanks and admiration. They have accepted a job many dream of --

but one which few actually dare to undertake. Their challenges are often more than we here at home can imagine.

And, there are those who are never out of our prayers -- those journalists held in foreign lands against their will. We continue to work for their release and pray for their freedom and their return to their families. We are ever vigilant in our concern and work for their release.

I'm proud of the role that American correspondents have played in bringing America closer to the world and in sharing America with others. American correspondents have pioneered in the use of new technologies to bring the news faster and more reliably to all citizens of the world. And American publications and broadcasts have served as models for other nations.

Fifty years of service and commitment to the highest ideals -- freedom and truth. Congratulations.

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PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: TIME MAGAZINE/OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB
ANNUAL AWARDS DINNER

THEME: "LET FREEDOM RING: THE PRESS IN THE NEW AGE OF DEMOCRACY"

Shortly after World War II, President Harry Truman told the American Society of Newspaper Editors: "We cannot run the risk that nations may be lost to the cause of freedom, because their people do not know the facts. I am convinced that we should greatly extend and strengthen our efforts to make the truth known to people in all the world."

Here in America, we believe in the free press. Every day, about xxx local television stations, xxx radio stations, and xxx daily newspapers -- each one fiercely independent of any government control -- report on candidates for office, government policies, national and international events and local happenings.

Today, forty years after President Truman championed the power of a free press, people from Managua to Manila are winning their struggle for freedom.

Thanks to the scrutiny that no government can now escape, things are changing, and the spirit is catching. For example, the staff of one Czechoslovakian Socialist party daily paper, The Free Word, announced last winter that it would no longer parrot the party line and would become an independent journal. Then, workers at the government-controlled television stations threatened to shut down broadcasts unless coverage of public

demonstrations was both prominent and fair. Soon after, the nightly news began featuring film clips of the protests at Wenceslas Square in Prague.

In Czechoslovakia and Hungary, people watched television coverage as the "Revolution of '89" evolved and the Berlin Wall fell. In Timisoara, Romania, a pastor in the Hungarian Reformed Church spoke out against the tyranny of the Bucharest regime on Hungarian television. After the interview, he was denied food and fuel, barred from meeting with his family, and finally imprisoned. Lech Walesa wrote in an open letter to the brave priest: "Even prison walls will not be able to hide what is noble and good from the eyes of the world." Walesa was right -- and now Romanians, free from of the despotism that imprisoned them for so long, are building democracy. And elsewhere, in Managua, the publisher of the once-outlawed newspaper La Prensa has been elected President of Nicaragua after years of censorship by the Marxist Sandinistas.

Your work overseas, as foreign correspondents and editors, has helped spark the fires of truth and freedom. In those far-away countries, the "truth has set men free." Not only in Berlin, but in so many cities and villages around the world, "the wall" separating the people and their God-given freedom has come down. And it has come down because people know that freedom means the right to question and change the established way of doing things and that no single authority or government has a

monopoly on the truth. As long as there is a free press in this world, the walls will continue to come down.

The idea of freedom is alive everywhere. Pope John Paul II, a great religious leader but also a Polish patriot, wrote years ago, "Freedom has continually to be won, it cannot merely be possessed. It comes as a gift but can only be kept with a struggle." Each of you is an important part of that struggle.

I salute the members of the Overseas Press Club and send you my best wishes on this occasion. God bless you and God bless America.

#

Pope Prays for World Peace, And Singles Out Romanians

194
183 Associated Press

VATICAN CITY, Dec. 25—Pope John Paul II offered a special prayer for the people of Romania and expressed hope in his traditional Christmas message that the spirit of the holiday will reach across his native Eastern Europe.

The Polish-born pope spoke in English from his balcony overlooking St. Peter's Square, where tens of thousands of faithful and tourists listened to the annual message called "Urbi et Orbi," Latin for "to the city and to the world."

"The world longs for peace," John Paul declared, then listed conflicts in Lebanon, the Holy Land, Central America, Africa and Asia.

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

He paused for a few seconds and lifted his head.

"May this old Europe of ours also receive you, O Word Incarnate!" he said. "Deep within her she carries the imprint of your gospel from which she has derived her culture, her art, her concept of the inviolable dignity of man."

"May this Europe open her doors and her heart to understand and receive the anxieties, the fears and the problems of the nations which seek her help," the pope said.

"May she respond with the strength and the generosity of her Christian roots to this very special moment of history . . . which the world is now experiencing as if awakened from a nightmare and opened up to a better hope."

In his message, the pope also prayed for guidance for negotiators in arms control and denounced the "self-interest" or "lack of concern" that aggravates pollution.

The pope did not mention Panama, where ousted dictator Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega has sought refuge at the Vatican embassy to evade U.S. troops sent in to capture him.

Sound of Carols and Bells Ends 40 Years of Silence

By The Associated Press

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

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

'Everybody Is So Happy'

Church bells pealed across Czechoslovakia to mark the new freedoms won in a democracy movement that

For the first time, live broadcasts of a Mass.

topped Communist leaders, created a freer press and brought promises of free elections.

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

"Everybody is so happy, so cheerful," said Dagmar Vogel, 22, who was back in Czechoslovakia for Christmas for the first time since her family fled

their homeland in 1968. "It is euphoric with everybody chatting about the future."

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

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

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

Prayers for Rumania

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

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

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

the path of freedom," John Paul said.

Amid the sounds of gunfire on the streets of Bucharest were the sounds of Christmas carols, broadcast by Bucharest radio for the first time since December 1948.

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

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

Offices Closed in the Baltics

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

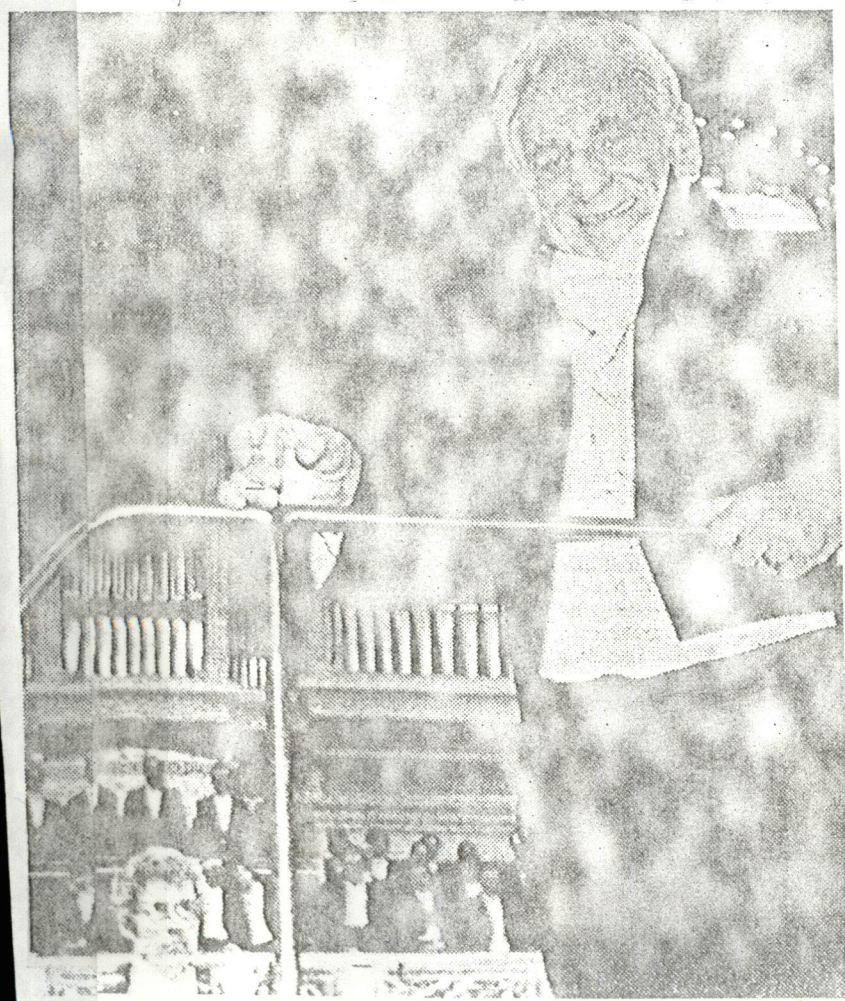
In the Baltic republics of the Soviet Union, which have large populations of Roman Catholics and Protestants, offices were closed for the first of the Dec. 25 holiday in the four decades of Soviet rule there.

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

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

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

Leads an Ode to Freedom



Associated Press

The Baltics

Soviet Party Leaders Debate The Breakaway by Lithuania

MOSCOW, Dec. 25 (Reuters) — Communist Party leaders addressed a Central Committee meeting today devoted to the decision by Communists in the Baltic republic of Lithuania to break with Moscow and form an independent party.

The official Tass press agency gave no details of the meeting other than a list of speakers with both conservative

parts certain to have been critical.

Also among the speakers was a representative of the minority of Lithuanian Communists who refused to join here to the new body and pledged allegiance to the Soviet party.

A statement issued by Tass at the start of the meeting suggested the Central Committee would do little to hinder the Lithuanian move, which

Stars Burning Bright *Latvia*

JURIS KAZA



—Jennifer Lawson

RIGA—With the slight background hiss of a distant AM broadcast, the choir sings *Klusa Nakts, Sveta Nakts* (Silent Night, Holy Night) in Latvian on Radio Riga. Playing in the background during a transatlantic call from Stockholm, it amazes and moves my family in the U.S., who never thought this would be possible.

On Christmas Eve, the Lutheran services from the Riga Dom Church are beamed across Latvia on television. In Ludza, a town near the Russian border in the predominantly Catholic province of Latgale, almost all the students from the local high school, and younger children as well, attend midnight Mass; two years ago this would have been unthinkable defiance. At the same time, Latvian television offers a surprise broadcast of midnight Mass from the Vatican, relayed by satellite.

Interspersed with the Christian celebrations and caroling were eerie pre-Christian solstice songs with the ancient refrain, "kaladu, kaladu," and the songs of merrymakers roaming around dressed as gypsies, storks, dancing bears, and other animals. A few years ago, the Soviet authorities were even more upset by the Latvian folklore movement than by Christian activism. There was a powerful un-

Mr. Kaza is a Latvian-American freelance journalist based in Stockholm, who has been banned by the Latvian KGB from visiting Latvia for five years.

spoken message in reminding people that their culture was one of the oldest and richest in Europe, with an oral tradition of nearly one million folk songs.

For years, Christmas had been celebrated in secrecy and fear, just one week ahead of the official surrogate, New Year's Eve, when decorated trees and *Sala vecis*, the Frost Man (a kind of ersatz Santa Claus), were officially allowed. I celebrated one such New Year's Eve with relatives in Riga, ringing in 1983, a year that proved to be one of the most repressive for Latvia's then-tiny democratic movement. In a sweep on January 6, the Latvian KGB ransacked the homes of up to fifty Latvian families and seized for questioning a Latvian woman from Sweden and her 16-year-old daughter. One man suffered a heart attack during a KGB search, and his body was left more or less where he collapsed until the secret police were through. (The man died.)

A Latvian editor, reached by phone from Stockholm, reports that in the Dom Square—called, until recently, the June 17 Square for the day the

No Turning Back *Lithuania*

PETER G. KAUFMANN

VILNIUS—Anyone watching the steady stream of people of all ages entering the Vilnius Cathedral on the morning of November 25, 1989, could have assumed that this was an ordinary, everyday occurrence. Even the children scurrying through the door, genuflecting on both knees at the entrance before proceeding to their places, behaved as if this had been the usual practice throughout their lives. In fact, it was a new experience for any Lithuanian under the age of about sixty.

The occasion was the Mass which marked the opening of the congress to re-establish the Catholic Youth Association, Ateitis, in Lithuania, an organization which had been banned since the Soviet occupation of Lithuania in 1940. Its objectives: to foster spiritual, intellectual, social, and fa-

milial consciousness in young people, based on traditional Christian values. The fact that this event could take place at all has lost much of its dramatic force against the backdrop of the revolutionary movements toward democracy sweeping through Eastern Europe, but opening the churches has accomplished much more than a return to the open practice of religion: it has opened the door to freedom of thought. Most of all, it has provided new hope for a better future.

Today, the Catholic Church in Lithuania recognizes both the difficulties and the importance of its role. Many of its priests were persecuted, and have served time in prison and in exile. The priesthood had been infil-

Red Army occupied Latvia in 1940—a Christmas pageant was held. There were lavish Christmas trees set up, apparently at city expense, in the Riga Market.

But another Latvian journalist says she saw "horrible poverty" in shops everywhere before Christmas. "The churches were full, to a large extent because it was the only place you could find peace from the open mockery of the population by the authorities through the standard of living they are able to give us," she said bitterly.

In 1989, Latvians give frank, fearless Christmas Eve man-in-the-street interviews to local television reporters. They say that although they would rather not talk politics at the rebirth of the official Christmas holiday, they feel compelled by Gorbachev's and the Kremlin's latest threats against Lithuania.

As long as the struggle for the restoration of democracy and complete independence has not ended, no formerly suppressed tradition or holiday will ever be free of politics. In many windows all across Latvia, three candles were left burning as symbols of defiance and hope, echoing the three bright stars atop the Latvian Freedom Monument in downtown Riga. □

Mr. Kaufmann is president of Ateitis in the United States.

securitate man. Called Dominic Par-
aschiv, he was a hairy, powerful man
in his fifties, a chemical engineer who
was known as a quiet, nice fellow.
Only he spent many weekends away
from home, supposedly on business
trips. He was captured red-handed on
Christmas Eve after he had shot sev-
eral people and only after he himself
got hit in the leg and liver. When he
came to, the nurse on duty told me,
he said he was sorry—sorry he didn't
kill more people. Now, pale and un-
shaven, mumbling incoherently, he
was tied to the bed, looking like a
trapped wolf. What training does it
take to turn a man into such a beast?

The shooting from the factory was
one of the last acts of resistance by
the *securitate*. A few hours later a TV
announcer, his face beaming, said,
"Good news this Christmas Day. The
Antichrist is dead." The staff of the
Bucharest TV station apologized for
not being able to show the tape of
Ceausescu's execution, but there were
some pockets of resistance on the way
and the historic recording could not
be risked. It transpired that when
Ceausescu was tried and condemned
to death an entire army unit volun-
teered for the firing squad; only three
men drew the lucky lots. The man
who had called himself "the fairest fir
tree of the Carpathians," and who
had declared only a few weeks previ-
ously that sooner would apple trees
bear pears than socialism be endan-
gered in Rumania, was now dead.

I made my pilgrimage to the place
where it had all begun 11 days before,
the house of a Protestant pastor
whose parishioners were willing to
die rather than let him be arrested by
the *securitate*. "Laszlo Tokesz, we are
waiting for you," someone scrawled in
white paint on the brick wall. The
name of the priest, a Hungarian
name, gives part of the reason why
the trouble began here in Timisoara.
Besides Hungarians there are Ger-
man, Yugoslav, and Jewish minori-
ties in this town. Very few Rumanians
have been allowed out of the
country since World War II, but Timi-
soarans have watched Yugoslav
and Hungarian television for years.

Keeping in touch with families
abroad, the remaining ones knew only
too well how much the official propa-
ganda lied. This plus the tradition of
civilized Habsburg rule in this part of
Rumania helps to explain why Timi-

soara became the flashpoint. But why
did all of Rumania follow Timisoara's
lead? "Look," said my Rumanian
guide, a shabby, friendly, talkative
man of 42. "This was my plan for
escaping to Hungary"—he unfolded a
tiny, easily digestible piece of paper
with a sketch of a border region. "My
salary is 3,200 lei per month, but we
were taxed 250 lei per month for not
having childrens. My wife and I no
like making childrens for Ceausescu.
This coat is 2,000 lei—you can only
buy them on the black market. A kilo
of coffee is 1,500 lei. I haven't seen a
banana for ten years." In a country
where television, heating, and electri-
city were rationed to two hours a
day, reasons for discontent are easy to
point out.

But you have to go to Bucharest to
appreciate the depths of Ceausescu's
depravity. The Avenue of the Victory
of Socialism has been built on the
ruins of Bucharest's medieval quar-
ter. At the apex of the avenue rises
one of this century's prime monu-
ments to megalomania and cruelty.
What was to become Ceausescu's
presidential palace is set off from the
public space by a stern fence which
takes over half an hour to walk
around. The palace itself expresses
perfectly the character of its sponsor.
It is as if someone had read 1984,
liked it, and had a fantasy of repro-
ducing the Ministry of Love. One
thing is certain. If, in another few
months, Ceausescu had moved in, he
would never have been dislodged by
people power. He would never have
had to flee ignominiously by heli-
copter from the roof. No crowd would

have dared to challenge him from *that*
square, in front of *that* fortress. In
what was no doubt the intended ef-
fect, standing before Ceausescu's pal-
ace one feels powerless as if before
the temple of an evil god.

RUMANIANS paid dearly for their
courage. In Timisoara alone I
saw a graveyard with twenty
corpses, some tortured, their hands
and legs bound with wire. The local
citizens' committee published a list of
one hundred dead. This tallies with
estimates by doctors I interviewed at
Timisoara's main hospital. When a
proper count is made, perhaps the
casualty figure will have to be dou-
bled or even trebled. A few hundred
died in Bucharest. I would estimate,
therefore, that it took the lives of
about one thousand people to topple
Ceausescu. That is a lot of innocent
blood but a far cry from the Western
estimates of 12,000 dead in Timisoara
and seventy thousand in all of Ruma-
nia. As usual in revolutions rumor
had a field day.

How will Ceausescu's 24-year rule
be remembered a few decades hence?
Will some academic Marxist argue
that, with all his faults, he neverthe-
less left Rumania non-aligned and
debtless, with plenty of low-income
housing (to match the low incomes)
and a brand-new subway in Bucha-
rest? It seems unlikely. But Ceaus-
escu does have two paradoxical
achievements: a Communist Party so
discredited that it will probably dis-
appear altogether, and a people who
are proud of having regained their
freedom by their own efforts. □

Christmas Eve in Poland

RADEK SIKORSKI

WARSAW—When I was a child,
Christmas Eve had an eter-
nal, unchanging quality. My
mother cooked carp for the traditional
meatless supper. One was supposed
to eat 12 other courses, but by the
time of my childhood—the Sixties—
this was only a memory. I did, how-
ever, always set an extra place at
the table, for a guest who always
came late: only at the age of ten or 11
did I begin to wonder why the appear-
ance of St. Nicholas was preceded by

the disappearance of my grandfather.
He would say he was going to fetch a
paper, even though newsstands were
closed at that time of night. When I
grew older I joined everybody at mid-
night Mass, and it was solemnly ex-
plained to me why in such times the
last words of the traditional hymn
were changed to "Bring us back, O
God, our free fatherland."

This year, at five thousand zloties
per kilo, many families could hardly
afford the traditional fish. The mood



BY FRANK JOHNSTON—THE WASHINGTON POST

Men pray over the dead in a cemetery in Timisoara, as the uprising began.

...oon and into the
...ay, Romanians mi-
...ad heard about in
...from Czechoslova-
...ulgaria, where up-
...ated other long-
...nt of the Central
...waved flags and
...With Us!" But the
...ure.
...-better trained,
...fanatically loyal
...ved to be in East-
...d not given up.
...Securitate began
...ound the Palace
...reets' refused to
...As the Army re-
...es and then with
...people remained
...We Will Die, But
...army there, too.
...iddle of a firefight.
...urreal evening, as
...sniper and tank
...ced to acknowl-

edge what they already knew from 24 years of life under the Ceausescus.

Their country was different. Its history was marked by cruelty, fascism and violence. There was no tradition of democratic rule. The national history books celebrated Vlad the Impaler, a 15th century nobleman who modern historians believe killed more than 100,000 people by forcing them to sit on sharpened stakes.

Vlad's descendants were the Securitate, Ceausescu's private army of 30,000, who that night began a guerrilla war against the Romanian people. For the next five days, the Securitate terrorized the country like a deranged dragon, breathing fire in Bucharest and other cities, including Timisoara, where the uprising had begun.

A Window on the West

In Timisoara, a city of 350,000 near the Yugoslav and Hungarian borders, a small demonstration had started on Thursday, Dec. 14 in support of a Lutheran minister, the Rev. Laszlo Tokes, who was to be deported for preaching pro-democracy sermons. When the demonstrators formed a human cordon around Tokes's house to protect him, the first reaction of the local authorities had been not force but negotiation.

That uncharacteristic reasonableness from the government encouraged others to join the protest. By Saturday night, tens of thousands of citizens were in the streets, chanting anti-Ceausescu slogans.

On Dec. 17, as the crowds headed for city hall, Ceausescu miscalculated and decided to treat the protesters as rabble, or "anti-socialist hooligans."

"Relay my order to all officers," he told party leaders by closed-circuit television. "... Anyone who tries to enter a state institution or party headquarters, or who breaks a shop window, must immediately be shot. I want calm restored in Timisoara in one hour. Call everybody. Give orders and execute them."

The shooting started late that Sunday afternoon and continued through the night. But instead of quelling the violence, it seemed to enrage the people.

All fall, the citizens of Timisoara had been watching Yugoslav and Hungarian television coverage of the revolutions in East Germany and Czechoslovakia. They were ready.

Little Timisoara was gripped by a kind of euphoria. "At last, we were doing something," recalled Laszlo Szabo, a chemical engineer who joined the demonstrations Sunday night.

The army did fire on civilians in Timisoara, but not willingly. At least 42 soldiers were executed on the spot during the operation for refusing to fire on the crowd.

"He Did This Thing to Himself"

By Wednesday, Dec. 20, the soldiers in Timisoara had had enough. When 50,000 workers marched through the streets, headed for the local Communist Party headquarters, the soldiers joined them. That afternoon, the soldiers pulled their tanks into defensive positions around civilian headquarters at the Opera House.

Exactly how many died in the massacre at Timisoara is not yet known, but in the first days the figures were wildly inflated. In a country where information had been rigidly controlled for a quarter century, Romanians were ready to believe anything.

As the revolution gained strength, the lack of real information and exaggerated atrocity stories worked against the regime. "Timisoara" came to mean the massacre of thousands upon thousands of unarmed people. It was the rallying cry for the students who infiltrated Ceausescu's final rally.

Ceausescu's decision to call an official demonstration on Dec. 21 "was the biggest mistake he ever made," said a Bucharest resident. "He was so arrogant he believed he could win the crowd over by speaking to them. He did this thing to himself."

Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu were captured by the government the same day they tried to get away. Their capture was announced the next day, along with a promise that they would be given a fair trial.

But as hundreds of civilians were killed by Securitate bullets, and the army post where the Ceausescus were being held came under attack, leaders of the new government concluded they could not quash the Securitate unless they played by the dictator's rules.

The only way to slay the dragon was to cut off its head. On Christmas Day, after a two-hour "trial" that was little more than a shouting match, Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu were executed by firing squad. Shortly after their bodies were shown on television, the shooting stopped.

— Mary Battiata, Blaine Harden

Reconstruction Begins

A Revolution's Unlikely Spark

As a pastor of the Hungarian Reformed Church in the Transylvanian city of Timisoara, the Rev. Laszlo Tokes seemed an unlikely figure to spark a revolution. But Tokes, 37, possessed a sharp tongue at a time when that attribute was rare in Rumania. Not only did he lash out against the tyrannical regime in Bucharest, but he even accused Hungarian Reformed Church leaders of collaborating with communist authorities.

No cause aroused Tokes's wrath more than the plight of his fellow 1.7 million ethnic Hungarians, who make up 8% of the Rumanian population and are concentrated in Transylvania, the country's westernmost region. Long a center of ethnic turbulence, Transylvania passed from Hungary to Rumania in 1918, after World War I. The region reverted to Hungary in 1940, and was ceded back to Rumania in 1944. Ethnic Hungarian leaders charge Bucharest with attempting "cultural genocide" by shutting ethnic schools, dissolving Hungarian communities and seizing historical archives. Some 18,000 ethnic Hungarians fled Rumania last year.

Tokes ran afoul of authorities last August in an outspoken interview with Hungarian television.

Among other things, he attacked Bucharest's plan to raze up to 8,000 villages and resettle their residents in high-rise apartment complexes. Some 50,000 ethnic Hungarians would be relocated in the program, which has brought denunciations from international human rights groups and strained relations with the Budapest government.

Denied a ration book by the state after the broadcast, Tokes was unable to buy bread, meat or fuel. Parishioners who tried to bring him provisions were confronted by police. The pastor was barred from meeting relatives, and his telephone was shut off. In a surreal form of harassment, authorities occasionally turned on the phone to



Tokes inside his besieged and battered church

deliver threats to Tokes, then billed him for the calls at long-distance rates. To protect his four-year-old son, Tokes sent the boy to live with relatives.

In November four masked thugs broke into the apartment where Tokes lived with his pregnant wife, and they beat and stabbed the minister. Two friends who were visiting Tokes helped fight off the attackers. In a smuggled videotape made last fall, a haggard Tokes showed clear signs of strain. "They've broken our windows every day," he said. "Now they've started breaking them in the church as well. Our friends sleep here now. The nights are terrible."

Threats of violence were just part of Tokes's troubles. Church officials tried to transfer him to a less volatile parish in southern Rumania. When Tokes refused, Bishop Laszlo Papp accused the pastor of "violating the laws of both church and state" and obtained a court order for his eviction. But hundreds of supporters formed a human chain around Tokes's building to protect him, thus triggering the crackdown that helped inspire the nationwide demonstrations that toppled Nicolae Ceausescu.

Tokes and his wife were taken into custody, present whereabouts unknown. After Ceausescu's fall, Rumanian television said Tokes was alive and well and "calling on people not to give up their fight for freedom." The once obscure minister has already joined the ranks of Eastern Europe's foremost fighters for liberty. Wrote Solidarity leader Lech Walesa in an open letter to Tokes last week: "I honestly admire your activity in a country oppressed by dictatorship. Even prison walls will not be able to hide what is noble and good from the eyes of the world."

—By John Greenwald

Reported by John Borrell/Vienna

down. Party spokesmen claimed that Milea then committed suicide, but it was more likely that he was shot by Securitate men. Next morning an unidentified general appeared on television to say, "I am very sorry that my friend the Minister died. It is a shame that he committed suicide." With his defenses crumbling, Ceausescu fled.

Of all Warsaw Pact party chiefs, only Ceausescu dared to order his security forces to shoot after Gorbachev had made it clear that the Soviet army would not back them up. But then Ceausescu for many years had set himself apart from his East bloc brethren. He was cheered by the West as the "maverick" of the Pact and praised for his refusal to allow Soviet troops on his soil, to participate in the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 or to support the Soviet war in Afghanistan.

Washington, Paris, London and other capitals chose to overlook Ceausescu's steel Stalinist hand at home, where he enforced a shameless cult of his own personality. He tolerated neither dissent among citizens nor a difference of opinion inside the party. He appointed his wife to the Politburo, his sons to high party and government rank and more than 30 other relatives to official positions. He basked in such honorifics as the Genius of the Carpathians and the Danube of Thought while treating the Rumanian people with extraordinary cruelty.

To repay his \$10 billion foreign debt, he halted imports, exported food, rationed electricity and impoverished the population. He wasted scarce investment funds on giant party office buildings and decided to bulldoze thousands of villages and force farmers into high-rise apartment buildings. His go-it-alone stubbornness in foreign policy was only one more sign of his determination to depend on no power but his own. As it turned out, that was not enough.

Though Ceausescu is out of power, he still casts a black shadow over his country's future. Rumania has no history of democratic government and Ceausescu permitted no institutions to develop outside his control. The Communist Party, if it is not completely discredited in the eyes of the people, will have to enter negotiations with nascent political organizations, if they can take solid shape. With security men still fighting desperately to avert a reckoning with the nation they brutalized, the regular army will play a stabilizing role.

The European Community has already dispatched planeloads of food and medical supplies to Bucharest. Gorbachev and the Soviet parliament have passed a resolution of "support for the just cause of the people of Rumania." In the days ahead, the people of Rumania will need all the help they can garner from both East and West if they are to recover from their bloody rebirth.

—Reported by John Borrell/Vienna and William Mader/London, with other bureaus

3/13

Gordon Black 223-8007

Bar Heard

Roper Foundation 203-486-4882

daily 642 ANPA

202- FCC 632-7106

703-648-1000 News

203-666-1541 local

212-586-8124 TV ST

Museum 212-752-4690

Calif 818-953-7575

378-2231 Legal Affairs

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Edin x Publishing Broadcasting

local television stations

radio stations

newspapers

PR firm

FCC 632-7100

Broadcasting Mag

Public Affairs 632-5050

Cong. Office 632-6366

on air 10,666 radio stations

daily newspaper Circulation

T.V. 1,441 stations

1,338

V.S. Statistical Abstract

Cms. Permits 235

construction permits

Janie - Here you go! Thanks MK

Grant/Nappo
March 12, 1990
Draft two
A:time

PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: TIME MAGAZINE/OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB
ANNUAL AWARDS DINNER

THEME: "LET FREEDOM RING: THE PRESS IN THE NEW AGE OF DEMOCRACY"

Shortly after World War II, President Truman told the American Society of Newspaper Editors: "We cannot run the risk that nations may be lost to the cause of freedom, because their people do not know the facts. I am convinced that we should greatly extend and strengthen our efforts to make the truth known to people in all the world."

Now, forty years later, many nations -- from Managua to Manila, from Panama to Poland -- have been won over to the cause of freedom. In the "Revolution of 1989," the people of these nations wanted freedom, and saw that they could have it. And it was the free press that allowed them to see their comrades in other totalitarian states finding new hope and new lives.

Here in America, we believe in the free press. Every day, about ^{1,441}xxx local television stations, ^{10,666}xxx radio stations, and ^{1,642}xxx daily newspapers -- each one fiercely independent of any government control -- report on candidates for office, government policies, national events and local happenings.

Thanks to the scrutiny that no government can now escape, things are changing, and the spirit is catching on. For example, the staff of one Czechoslovakian Socialist party daily paper, The Free Word, announced last winter that it would no longer parrot

the party line and would become an independent journal. And workers at the state television stations threatened to shut down broadcasts unless coverage of public demonstrations was both prominent and fair. Soon after, the nightly news began featuring film clips from the protests at Wenceslas Square in Prague.

In Timisoara, where Romania's uprising this winter began, people watched television coverage of the revolutions in East Germany and Czechoslovakia. And just this Christmas, other East Europeans saw their first Mass on television, as Pope John Paul II delivered his Christmas message in 53 languages from St. Peter's in Rome -- one in which the Pontiff told followers to pray for Romania as she was "celebrating this Christmas in fear and trembling, with sorrow for the many human lives tragically lost and in the joy of having taken once more the path of freedom." And now the publisher of the once-outlawed newspaper La Prensa has been elected President of Nicaragua after years of censorship by the Marxist Sandinistas.

There has never been a time in American or world history when there was so great a need for our citizens to be informed and to understand world events. Your work overseas, as foreign correspondents and editors, has sparked the fires of truth and freedom. For in those far-away countries, the truth has set men free. Not only in Berlin, but in many countries, "the wall" has come down between the people and their God-given freedom. And as long as there is a free press left in this world, the walls will continue to come down.

As more and more countries seek democracy, we see the power of truth and liberty on the path to freedom. Continued progress for those seeking democracy is found in freedom of thought, freedom of information, freedom of communication -- in the right to question and change the established way of doing things and in the knowledge that no single authority or government has a monopoly on the truth.

The people of these nations know this. The idea of freedom is alive everywhere. "For our freedom and yours" has been a motto on Polish banners since the earliest struggles for independence, and the Polish Pope, John Paul, wrote years ago, "Freedom has continually to be won, it cannot merely be possessed. It comes as a gift but can only be kept with a struggle."

Each of you is an important part of that struggle. For your hard work and dedication to the good fight, I salute the members of the Overseas Press Club and send you my best wishes on this occasion. God bless you and God bless America.

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Grant/Nappo
March 12, 1990
Draft two
A:time

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Truman
Pres
Papers
April 20,
1950
p 261-
2

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648-1000
Public Affairs
American
Newspapers
Publishers
Association

Here in America, we believe in the free press. Every day, about xxx local television stations, xxx radio stations, and xxx daily newspapers -- each one fiercely independent of any government control -- report on candidates for office, government policies, national events and local happenings.

FCC
Public
Affairs
630-7100
from
Broadcasting
Mag
week
March 12,
1990

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Time
12/4/89

the party line and would become an independent journal. And workers at the state television stations threatened to shut down broadcasts unless coverage of public demonstrations was both prominent and fair. Soon after, the nightly news began featuring film clips from the protests at Wenceslas Square in Prague.

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There has never been a time in American or world history when there was so great a need for our citizens to be informed and to understand world events. Your work overseas, as foreign correspondents and editors, has sparked the fires of truth and freedom. For in those far-away countries, the truth has set men free. Not only in Berlin, but in many countries, "the wall" has come down between the people and their God-given freedom. And as long as there is a free press left in this world, the walls will continue to come down.

*not Review
Jan 23, 1990
p24
Wash Post
article
NYT
1/26/90
Wash Post
article
12-26-89*

As more and more countries seek democracy, we see the power of truth and liberty on the path to freedom. Continued progress for those seeking democracy is found in freedom of thought, freedom of information, freedom of communication -- in the right to question and change the established way of doing things and in the knowledge that no single authority or government has a monopoly on the truth.

The people of these nations know this. The idea of freedom is alive everywhere. "For our freedom and yours" has been a motto on Polish banners since the earliest struggles for independence, and the Polish Pope, John Paul, wrote years ago, *Book of Poems* "Freedom has continually to be won, it cannot merely be possessed. It comes as a gift but can only be kept with a struggle."

Each of you is an important part of that struggle. For your hard work and dedication to the good fight, I salute the members of the Overseas Press Club and send you my best wishes on this occasion. God bless you and God bless America.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Pls. note type p. 2

Frank,
ds

March 15, 1990

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *w*
FROM: MARY KATE GRANT *MKG*
SUBJECT: ARTICLE FOR OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB AWARDS DINNER

Finck-
GB
3-17

I. SUMMARY

Attached for your consideration is a proposed article for the program at the Overseas Press Club Annual Awards Dinner. The theme of this year's dinner is "Let Freedom Ring: The Press in the New Age of Democracy."

II. DISCUSSION

Every year, the dinner program is designed as a mock-up of a national magazine; this year's will be Time magazine (last year was Newsweek). This is the second year you have contributed a piece and photos to the program.

Grant/Nappo
March 16, 1990
Draft five
A:time

PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: TIME MAGAZINE/OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB
ANNUAL AWARDS DINNER

THEME: "LET FREEDOM RING: THE PRESS IN THE NEW AGE OF DEMOCRACY"

Shortly after World War II, President Harry Truman told the American Society of Newspaper Editors: "We cannot run the risk that nations may be lost to the cause of freedom, because their people do not know the facts. I am convinced that we should greatly extend and strengthen our efforts to make the truth known to people in all the world."

Here in America, we believe in the free press. Every day, about 1400 local television stations, 1600 daily newspapers, and over 10,000 radio stations -- each one fiercely independent of any government control -- report on candidates for office, government policies, local, national and international events

Today, forty years after President Truman championed the power of a free press, people from Panama to Poland are winning their struggle for freedom.

Thanks to the scrutiny that no government can now escape, things are changing, and the spirit is catching. For example, the staff of one Czechoslovak Socialist party daily paper, The Free Word, announced last winter that it would no longer parrot the official line and would become an independent journal. Then, workers at the government-controlled television stations threatened to shut down broadcasts unless coverage of public

demonstrations was both prominent and fair. Soon after, the nightly news began featuring film clips of the protests at Wenceslas Square in Prague.

In Czechoslovakia and Hungary, people watched television coverage as the "Revolution of '89" evolved and the Berlin Wall fell. In Timisoara, Romania, a pastor in the Hungarian Reformed Church spoke out against the tyranny of the Bucharest regime on Hungarian television. After the interview, he was denied food and fuel, barred from meeting with his family, and finally imprisoned. Lech Walesa wrote in an open letter to the brave priest: "Even prison walls will not be able to hide what is noble and good from the eyes of the world." Walesa was right -- and now the people of Romania, free from ~~of~~ the despotism that imprisoned them for so long, are building democracy. And elsewhere, in Managua, the publisher of the once-outlawed newspaper La Prensa has been elected President of Nicaragua after years of censorship by the Marxist Sandinistas.

Your work overseas, as foreign correspondents and editors, has helped spark the fires of truth and freedom. In those far-away countries, the "truth has set men free." Not only in Berlin, but in so many cities and villages around the world, "the wall" separating the people and their God-given freedom has come down. And it has come down because people know that freedom means the right to question and change the established way of doing things and that no single authority or government has a

monopoly on the truth. As long as there is a free press in this world, the walls will continue to come down.

The idea of freedom is alive everywhere. Pope John Paul II, a great religious and spiritual leader but also a Polish patriot, wrote years ago, "Freedom has continually to be won, it cannot merely be possessed. It comes as a gift but can only be kept with a struggle." Each of you is an important part of that ongoing struggle.

I salute the members of the Overseas Press Club and send you my best wishes on this occasion. God bless you and God bless America.

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