

Box #1

Shirley Sagawa/OFL

May 2000

- ◆ HRC Event Requests 1998
- ◆ HRC Event Requests 1/99-6/99
- ◆ HRC Event Requests 7/99-12/99
- ◆ SS Invites 1999
- ◆ Casework Done
 - ◆ American Rock Salt Mine- Seneca Nation
 - ◆ Witt, Mary- Son's death
- ◆ Shirley Meetings
 - ◆ Kyrgyzstan Journalists 3/99
 - ◆ Miskel, Cecil-Prof
 - ◆ Siddall, Mary- Heritage Foundation Tour
 - ◆ Yamanaka, Akiko 9/99
- ◆ Letters/Videos HRC Done 1999
 - ◆ Assoc. of Jr. League: Letter of Welcome
 - ◆ Business Women's Forum: Letter-Japan
 - ◆ Children's National Medical Center: Chair
 - ◆ Coe, Jacqueline: Alliance for Justice
 - ◆ Connolly, Ann Maura: Letter
 - ◆ CWLA Conf Letter 6/99: Letter
 - ◆ Frank Foundation 1/98: Letter to Russian Children
 - ◆ Gallanter, Marty: Letter
 - ◆ Grantmakers Forum
 - ◆ International Development Conf. 12/98: Video
 - ◆ Moore: Letter
 - ◆ Operation Smile: Video
 - ◆ Simmons, Adele: Letter of Thanks
 - ◆ Smith, Peter: Onward!
 - ◆ Sofer, Gene: Letter
 - ◆ World Cup Soccer: Letter
 - ◆ WNBA Award Nomination
 - ◆ Yarro, Peter: Don't Laugh at Me
- ◆ Projects/Books Rejected/Passed On 1999
 - ◆ Anderson, Susan: Position Paper
 - ◆ Bachman, Chandini: JFK Tribute
 - ◆ Brind, Stephen: Can You Hear
 - ◆ Brown, Anne: Heroes Passing the Baton
 - ◆ Brownstein, Jerry: Parent Ed Project
 - ◆ Callopy, Michael: Architects of Peace
 - ◆ Cooper, Elisha: book drawing
 - ◆ Elmira College: Proclamation Request/Teach a Child About Business Day
 - ◆ Flinn, Susan: Speaking of Hillary

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ENCLOSURES FILED OVERSIZE ATTACHMENTS
NANA
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2 boxes filed 5/22/2000

- ◆ Garmon, Linda: Election Documentary
- ◆ Johnson, Alexandria: Leaving a Trace
- ◆ Kleinburg, Susan: Audio-Fear Not
- ◆ Korkut, Edib: Social Security Program
- ◆ Lizzi, Marian: Great Adventures in Food
- ◆ Lockhart, Keith: Recording-With Voices Raised
- ◆ Marino, Gina: Past, Present and Future
- ◆ Mason, Linda: book on working moms
- ◆ Mt. Vernon Tour
- ◆ Nemia, Linda: Center for Health, Healing, & Arts
- ◆ Oakes, Jeannie: Becoming Good American Schools
- ◆ Reed, Rich: music system of learning
- ◆ Salazar, Mary Lou: Peace Ed Proposal
- ◆ Smith, Pamela: Australian law book
- ◆ Tauck, Robin: Tauk travel book
- ◆ Tierney, Thomas: Eleanor, An American Love Story
- ◆ Turner, Philip: Exodus 1947 & Haven
- ◆ Urguhart, Desiree: Children of the Dream
- ◆ Werner, Jan: Lost Boys Audio
- ◆ Wiley, Jill: Restoring Faith in Politics
- ◆ Buddy and Socks – Bobbie's Files
- ◆ 1999 Presidential Transmits

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 9, 1998

Dear Hillary,

Do you wish to meet with the winners of the International Press Freedom Awards given by the Committee to Protect Journalists? Among them will be Gustavo Gorriti, whose cause you brought up in Panama. He'd like to thank you. (I am well acquainted with him.) Also, among the honorees will be Ruth Simon, who escorted you during your visit to Ethiopia and is now imprisoned.

If you decided to meet with them, it would be an occasion to talk about the role of the press in civil society. I intend to meet with them separately, likely with members of the NSC. I enclose the materials, which note the suggested meeting times.

A handwritten signature, possibly "JL", is written above a long, sweeping horizontal line that extends across the width of the page.



COMMITTEE TO PROTECT JOURNALISTS

330 Seventh Avenue, New York, NY 10001 USA Phone: (212) 465-1004 Fax: (212) 465-9568 Web: www.cpj.org E-Mail: Info@cpj.org

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CNN

Thomas Winship
INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR
JOURNALISTS

TO: JONNO FOR SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL

FROM: JUDITH LEYNSE *JL*

RE: REQUEST

DATE: 11-9-98

PAGES TO FOLLOW: 13

SENDER'S FAX: (212) 465-9568 **PHONE:** (212) 465-1004, EXT 105 OR 465-9344, EXT. 105

Following are the letter of July 31 from Ann K. Cooper, executive director, and copies of bios of CPJ International Press Freedom Award Winners.

Imprisoned award winner RUTH SIMON of Eritrea escorted Hillary Clinton on Mrs. Clinton's visit there, and undoubtedly Mrs. Clinton will be very concerned about Ms. Simon's plight, described in the following materials.

CPJ award winners Gustavo Gorriti of Peru (now exiled and working in Panama) is also someone Mrs. Clinton would want to meet with, as she raised the issue of the efforts to expel Gorriti from Panama with Panamanian authorities when she was there to attend a conference of First Ladies of the Americas. Mr. Gorriti has publicly recognized her for her defense of press freedom, but he has never had a chance to meet her and thank her in person. A White House meeting would provide a wonderful opportunity for such acknowledgement.

Dates for meeting: Best dates and times are Thursday November 19 in afternoon, Friday November 20 before 10am or after 12pm. We have a press briefing scheduled at National Press Club at 10 a.m. Friday November 20.

Gustavo Gorriti, Latin America's pre-eminent investigative reporter, and Gremah Boucar, a besieged independent broadcaster in Niger who represents the importance of the medium of radio to this vast continent, will be in DC with CPJ executive director Ann Cooper and CPJ area program coordinators. Cooper will also speak on behalf of Pavel Sheremet, the Belarus journalist who as yet has not received permission to travel to the U.S. to accept the CPJ award.

Please call me for any further information.

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ERWIN POTTS
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July 31, 1998

Mr. Sidney Blumenthal
Assistant to the President
The White House

Dear Sidney,

I'm writing to ask your support and assistance in arranging some Washington meetings for the 1998 winners of the International Press Freedom Awards given by the Committee to Protect Journalists. As you know, CPJ has been working for 18 years to further press freedom around the world. Much of our work involves researching and publicizing attacks on journalists, and out of that research we select several journalists each year for the Press Freedom Awards. The winners will not be announced until September, but I am enclosing biographical material on each of this year's selections -- including Peruvian journalist Gustavo Gorriti, whom you met in Santiago earlier this year.

These individuals will arrive in New York on November 18, and we plan to host them in the United States through November 24, when we hold our annual benefit dinner in Manhattan. On November 19 and 20, and possibly November 21, they will be in Washington, where we would hope that they would be able to meet with you, as well as with National Security Council officials concerned with issues of freedom of speech around the world. In addition, we would like to request an opportunity for the awardees to meet with President Clinton at the White House. We strongly believe that such a meeting would send a powerful message about the president's support for the role that an independent press plays in a democracy. It would also send an important signal to those governments that continue to imprison, threaten or otherwise repress journalists.

We will certainly be happy to provide additional information about the awardees, our program or anything else you may need in considering our requests. I should note that two of the journalists described here may not be able to make the trip. Ruth Simon, of Eritrea, is currently imprisoned, and Pavel Sheremet, of Belarus, has been officially banned from travel abroad until 1999. We expect to make appeals to the Belarus government, to allow Sheremet to visit the U.S. in November; any support or assistance you may be able to offer would obviously be greatly appreciated.

Letter to Sidney Blumenthal Continued, Page 2

Also included in this fax is a copy of Gustavo Gorriti's recent op-ed piece in The New York Times, and an update of our country situation report on Russia; I hope the latter may be useful for you on your trip to Moscow later this month. I had one additional suggestion I would like to make for that trip: if you have time, it would certainly be worthwhile to see Vladislav Starkov, the editor of Argumenti i Fakti in Moscow, phone number 923-3541. During the "glasnost" era when I worked as a Moscow correspondent, Starkov was one of the bravest and best editors; his publication continues to win kudos for its integrity and enlightenment, even in this period when so much of the Russian media has grown discredited.

I thoroughly enjoyed meeting you yesterday, and I look forward to being able to work with you whenever we are able to join forces to further press freedom.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Ann K. Cooper". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name and title.

Ann K. Cooper
Executive Director
Committee to Protect Journalists

enclosures

**NEWS**

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More on the awards at <http://www.cpj.org>

Contact: Judith Leynse, 212/465-1004, X105

CPJ to Present 8th Annual International Press Freedom Awards To Journalists from Five Countries

Committee to Honor C-SPAN's Brian Lamb for Dedication to Press Freedom

New York, N.Y., October 19—Five journalists will receive 1998 CPJ International Press Freedom Awards in ceremonies in New York on November 24 for their courage and independence in reporting the news, the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) announced today.

The award winners are **Grémah Boucar**, a radio station owner and publisher in Niger; **Gustavo Gorriti**, a Peruvian investigative reporter working in Panama; **Goenawan Mohamad**, a magazine editor in Indonesia; **Pavel Sheremet**, a television bureau chief and newspaper editor in Belarus; and **Ruth Simon**, a wire service correspondent imprisoned in Eritrea.

CPJ will also honor **Brian P. Lamb**, C-SPAN's founder and chief executive, with the **Burton Benjamin Memorial Award** for distinguished achievement in the cause of press freedom.

The eighth annual awards will be presented at formal ceremonies at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York City at a benefit dinner attended by leading national and international journalists. The event will mark the 17th year of CPJ, an independent, nonprofit organization that works to secure press freedom worldwide.

The CPJ International Press Freedom Awards honor journalists who have bravely provided news coverage and viewpoints in the face of arrest, imprisonment, violence against them and their families, and threats of death.

"These journalists put their freedom and their lives on the line to report the news," said Gene Roberts, chairman of CPJ's board of directors. "It is our firm belief that by drawing attention to their courageous acts we can help thwart the enemies of a free press who would silence their voices."

CPJ's executive director Ann K. Cooper said, "The courage and perseverance of these brave practitioners of press freedom despite continual hardship and harassment set an example for all who value the right to free expression, a right supported by almost all nations but practiced by far fewer."

Speakers at the black-tie event will include **Anne Garrels** of NPR, **Tom Brokaw** of NBC, **Ira Glass** of "This American Life," **Karen Elliott House** of Dow Jones International, **Peter Jennings** of ABC, **Dan Rather** of CBS, **Tina Rosenberg** of *The New York Times*, **Charlie Rose** of "The Charlie Rose Show," **Goodloe Sutton** of *The Democrat Reporter*, **Linden, Ala.**, and **Cooper and Roberts**.

Mortimer Zuckerman and **Harold M. Evans** are dinner co-chairmen. Zuckerman is editor in chief and publisher, and Evans, vice chairman and editorial director, of *U.S. News & World Report*, the *Daily News*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, and *Fast Company*.

Following is information on the 1998 CPJ International Press Freedom Award winners and the **Burton Benjamin Memorial Award** recipient:

Grémah Boucar, founder of Radio Anfani, Niger's only private radio station, and publisher of the *Anfani* newspaper and magazine, exemplifies the experiences of Africa's few truly independent radio broadcasters in his refusal to allow government intimidation and harassment to drive the station permanently off the air. In a region where radio is the most effective medium for reaching the majority of citizens, Boucar has refused to flee into exile and has withstood attacks, harassment, and arrest. He remains committed to providing Niger's only source of critical coverage of the government and its policies.

Gustavo Gorriti of *La Prensa*, Panama, is Latin America's top investigative reporter. Gorriti is an uncompromising advocate for press freedom who has survived abduction by armed commandos in his native Peru and continual legal harassment in Panama, where he has lived since 1996. Gorriti's reporting on Colombian drug traffickers' close ties to the Panamanian government nearly resulted in his expulsion from Panama in 1997. The threat of international condemnation forced the Panamanian government to extend his work visa for a year, but it has not put an end to the legal harassment.

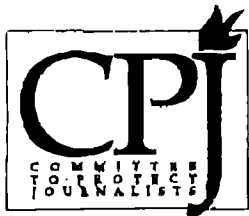
Goenawan Mohamad, founder and editor of *Tempo* news magazine in Indonesia, is a lifelong crusader for press freedom who has sought to hold government accountable to the public. A beacon of hope to Indonesian journalists, he has been unwavering in his determination to develop a genuinely independent press. *Tempo*, the independent weekly he founded in 1971, was the country's largest, most respected news magazine. It was silenced in 1994 at the beginning of Suharto's clampdown on Indonesian media. Now, with Suharto gone and a new government pledging a commitment to press freedom, Mohamad and a group of former staffers relaunched *Tempo* on October 6, with a dramatic lead article investigating the reported rapes of Chinese women during the rioting that preceded Suharto's resignation in May.

Pavel Sheremet of Belarus is Minsk bureau chief for ORT Russian television and editor in chief of the newspaper *Belarusskaya Delovaya Gazeta*. Sheremet has endured every conceivable type of official harassment for his coverage of Belarus' slide toward authoritarianism—arrest, imprisonment, and denial of the right to report and travel freely—and has become a symbol of courage for standing up to Belarusian President Aleksander Lukashenko's campaign to suppress independent and opposition media.

Ruth Simon of Eritrea, a correspondent for Agence France-Presse, has been under arrest and held in detention, without trial, since April 25, 1997, for doing her job as an independent journalist in reporting statements made by Eritrea's President Isaias Afewerki that Eritrean troops were fighting alongside rebel forces in neighboring Sudan.

Brian P. Lamb, recipient of the Burton Benjamin Memorial Award, is chairman and chief executive officer of C-SPAN, the Cable-Satellite Public Affairs Network. His breakthrough achievement in conceiving, defining, and establishing a public affairs television network that would give voice to all the people added a new dimension to the nation's and world's understanding of press freedom. With the creation nearly 20 years ago of C-SPAN—a nonprofit network subsidized by the cable industry—the medium of television made a great leap toward more fully realizing its inherent potential to inform and illuminate. C-SPAN has demystified the workings of government for tens of millions of Americans through its gavel-to-gavel coverage of the U.S. Congress. Not only has it helped create a more informed electorate, it has become a vehicle for viewers to participate in the democratic process in new ways. It upholds the press freedom standard of the Committee to Protect Journalists: Democracy can flourish only when citizens have the right and the ability to freely express and have access to information, opinions, and views. *The Burton Benjamin Memorial Award honors the late CBS News senior producer and former CPJ chairman who died in 1988.*

More information on the award winners can be found at <<http://www.cpj.org>>, CPJ's newly redesigned and expanded website, featuring a searchable database of thousands of cases of attacks on journalists, and the webzine of press freedom, *Dangerous Assignments*.



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Contact: Judith Leynse (212) 465-1004, ext. 105

1998 International Press Freedom Awards November 24, 1998, Waldorf-Astoria, New York City

Honoring journalists who courageously provide independent news coverage and viewpoints in the face of arrest, imprisonment, violence against them and their families, and threats of death.

Ruth Simon, Eritrea—Imprisoned Journalist Correspondent, Agence France-Presse

Ruth Simon, a correspondent for the news agency Agence France-Presse (AFP), has been in detention since April 25, 1997. Simon, an Eritrean citizen, was arrested after reporting that President Isaias Afewerki told participants at a seminar in Asmara that Eritrean soldiers were fighting alongside rebels in neighboring Sudan. (Sudan's opposition military and political coalition, the National Democratic Alliance, is based in Asmara.)

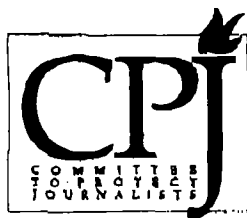
Simon was responsible for the clandestine publications of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front during the war for independence from Ethiopia and was the editor in chief of *BANA*, the publication of the Association for the Reintegration of Eritrean Women Guerrilla Fighters. She is the first journalist to be arrested in Eritrea since it became a state in 1993. Afewerki personally ordered Simon's imprisonment for "publishing false information."

Following Simon's arrest, AFP published a response by the central committee of the ruling People's Front for Democracy and Justice, which described Simon's original report as a "gross distortion" of the President's statement and repeated its denial of involvement in Sudan's civil war.

Although magazines and newspapers are beginning to appear, the Eritrean media is mainly controlled by the government. On May 11, 1998, President Afewerki announced that Simon will face trial and that the state intends to sue AFP for using a "so-called agent" to disseminate false information. In reply to CPJ's letter protesting Simon's arrest, the Eritrean foreign ministry said Simon's actions violated the national press law, which states that "any journalist who misinforms the public or any institution is liable to the damage he/she may cause as a result." Refusing to elaborate further on the charges against Simon, the letter also stated that, "[Simon's arrest] is, therefore, [a] purely legal issue which does not require or allow any kind of intervention from any corner."

Simon is married and the mother of two children, the youngest of whom was six months old at the time of her arrest.

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Gustavo Gorriti, Panama/Peru *La Prensa, Panama*

No one exemplifies the remarkable transformation of Latin American journalism better than Gustavo Gorriti. During the 1980s, Gorriti made his name as a war correspondent, hiking along jungle trails to report on the brutal conflict in his native Peru. Today, with the guns quiet, he spends his time poring over bank records and court documents to expose corruption and malfeasance in his adopted home, Panama.

Through it all, Gorriti has shown himself a master of self-defense—as befits the six-time Peruvian national judo champion. In 1992, when a commando unit armed with silencer-equipped weapons broke into his Lima home and secretly hauled him away to the army's Intelligence Service compound, Gorriti's wife put into action a plan they had worked out in advance. She quickly notified U.S. government officials and international press freedom organizations, including the Committee to Protect Journalists, about his disappearance. The rapid response that ensued probably saved Gorriti's life.

In Panama Gorriti has relied on international law and his skills as a journalist to defend himself against a campaign of legal harassment. After being forced to leave Peru in 1992, Gorriti joined the staff of the Panama City daily *La Prensa*, one of Latin America's leading newspapers. Soon after he arrived in 1996, Gorriti produced a series of articles documenting how Colombian drug traffickers with close ties to the Panamanian government were using banks to launder money. He also found that a major trafficker with close ties to the Cali drug cartel had made a US\$51,000 contribution to President Ernesto Pérez Balladares' campaign fund.

Angered by Gorriti's reports, the government announced on August 5, 1997, that it would not renew his work visa and ordered him to leave Panama by August 28. Gorriti responded with a full-scale legal and communications onslaught: He filed suits in Panamanian courts and asked for the intervention of the Inter American Human Rights Commission of the Organization of American States. He wrote op-eds for *The New York*

Times and *Newsweek*. He was profiled in *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, and on National Public Radio.

Facing international condemnation, the Panamanian government was forced to back down. On October 14, 1997, Gorriti's work visa was extended for another year.

But Gorriti's travails were not over. Just before the government had announced its intention of expelling him from Panama, Gorriti and fellow reporter Rolando Rodríguez reported that a company that had been accused of being a front for drug traffickers in Panama had made a US\$5,000 contribution to the 1994 congressional campaign of José Antonio Sossa, who is currently Panama's attorney general. Sossa is now prosecuting Gorriti and Rodríguez for criminal defamation. At one point during the course of the proceedings against them, Gorriti and Rodríguez were barred from leaving Panama and ordered to report to a judge every 30 days.

Throughout his long and varied career, Gorriti, 50, has distinguished himself not only as Latin America's top investigative reporter, but also as an uncompromising advocate for press freedom.

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Honoring journalists who courageously provide independent news coverage and viewpoints in the face of arrest, imprisonment, violence against them and their families, and threats of death.

Grémah Boucar, Niger Director, Radio Anfani

Besieged broadcaster Grémah Boucar, owner and director of Niger's leading private radio station, exemplifies the experiences of Africa's few truly independent radio broadcasters as he continues to face down numerous attempts by military ruler Gen. Ibrahim Ba'are Mainassara to force the station permanently off the air.

The pressure on journalists like Boucar is characteristic of a wider targeting of independent broadcasters by increasingly intolerant governments throughout Africa. In a region where radio is the most effective medium for reaching the majority of citizens, few governments have relinquished the airwaves to private ownership. Broadcasters like Boucar believe that if they succumb to government intimidation and harassment, they will never regain access to the airwaves. Despite huge financial and personal sacrifices, Boucar refuses to flee into exile; he remains committed to providing Niger's citizens critical coverage of the government and its policies.

Boucar, who also publishes *Anfani* newspaper and magazine, launched Radio Anfani (FM 100MHZ) in 1994, during the administration of Niger's first democratically elected president, Mahamane Ousmane. The station quickly became the nation's primary source of news, providing extensive international coverage as an affiliate of the Voice of America, British Broadcasting Service, and Radio Deutsche Welle. A staff of dedicated investigative journalists also provided desperately needed analytical coverage of local politics.

Despite the government's attempts to strictly control the press during the run-up to the July 1996 national elections, Radio Anfani had continued to allow banned opposition parties and unions access to the airwaves. On July 6, soldiers stoned, vandalized, and occupied the Radio Anfani studios in retaliation for the station's coverage of the political opposition. The station remained off the air for one month.

At 3:00 a.m. on March 1, 1997, five unidentified men wearing military uniforms ransacked the station's studios, destroying newly installed equipment valued at US\$80,000. In the weeks after the attack, Boucar, three Radio Anfani journalists, and two security guards were arrested on unspecified charges. Boucar and the guard who was on duty during the attack were subsequently charged with organizing the attack on the radio station to attract financial aid from sympathetic international agencies. As news of the attack on Radio Anfani spread throughout Niamey, thousands of citizens marched to the station to express their support for the journalists.

Since early 1997, Boucar and his staff have been repeatedly arrested, harassed, and threatened. Past attacks on Radio Anfani journalists stemmed from their coverage of the government's actions to eliminate any viable political opposition; articles in *Anfani* newspaper criticizing certain government officials, and broadcasts that generated international criticism of Mainassara's victory in elections, widely believed to have been fraudulent. The most recent threat against Radio Anfani occurred on May 4 when the station carried a joint petition, issued by representatives of the private media and correspondents of the foreign press in Niger, condemning the regime's attempts to intimidate and censor the press. After a tip from sources in the military, Boucar shut down the radio station in anticipation of another violent closure by authorities. Radio Anfani's facilities were under occupation by security officers as a result of the broadcast, but the station has since resumed broadcasting and is also currently operating a new facility in Zinder.

CPJ's rapid response, and its ability to create a coalition of diplomats and international press freedom organizations, generated intense pressure and scrutiny on the Mainassara regime, resulting in the release of Boucar and his staff.

Grémah Boucar practices his profession in an extremely difficult environment. At risk of being shut down at a moment's notice, he has not compromised the content of Radio Anfani's hard-hitting journalism and has attracted support from fellow citizens, diplomatic representatives of many Western nations, and international organizations such as CPJ. Many of Boucar's colleagues believe that it is just a matter of time before President Mainassara's irritation with Anfani's objective reporting and popularity among the citizenry prompts him to order the station permanently shut down.

Boucar, 39, represents the challenges faced by Africa's radio journalists who are currently under siege throughout the region, especially those in the West Africa sub-region, where CPJ documents the greatest number of press freedom abuses in sub-Saharan Africa.

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Goenawan Mohamad, Indonesia Founder and Editor, *Tempo* news magazine

Goenawan Mohamad has been a crusader for press freedom since his university days, when he set up the short-lived independent student newspaper *Harian Kami* in 1967, just a couple of years after Suharto engineered the overthrow of Indonesia's founding president, Sukarno. Now, after sparring for decades with Suharto's authoritarian government, it is Mohamad who remains on the public stage while his nemesis has been forced to resign.

Harian Kami took advantage of the brief freedom offered by the nascent Suharto regime, but it was banned by the government in 1974. By that time, however, Mohamad had become editor of *Tempo*, an independent weekly magazine he founded in 1971. Patterned after western magazines such as *Time* and *Newsweek*, *Tempo* became the most respected and highest-circulation news magazine in Indonesia and served as a training ground for a generation of journalists. It sought to keep the Suharto government accountable to the public, and set new journalistic standards for the country with a mix of political commentary and investigative reporting on human rights and official corruption.

Tempo was frequently threatened with closure, and was banned for a short time in 1982 when it reported on violence instigated by the government-backed Golkar Party at an opposition campaign rally. In 1994, the magazine went too far for the regime when a cover story criticizing Indonesia's purchase of 39 used navy ships from the former East Germany drew attention to a dispute between B. J. Habibie, the author of the deal and then a powerful cabinet minister, and a number of senior generals. Suharto was reportedly enraged with the airing of his regime's dirty linen in print. *Tempo* was banned and its publication license revoked in June 1994, along with the licenses of two other popular news magazines. The action effectively ended a period of relative liberalization in the Indonesia media, inaugurating a clampdown that lasted until Suharto's resignation on May 21, 1998.

Writing in 1998 before Suharto stepped down, Mohamad worried that the climate of repression in Indonesia could lead to anarchy. A free press, he said, was necessary if

Indonesia was ever to find its way toward democratic change. But he had faith that the press would survive: "Information is just like water in that when a rock impedes the flow, water still flows by the side of the rock, or through the crevices," he wrote. "The more restrictions are imposed, the more new activity in the media will be generated."

After the 1994 ban, Mohamad led an effort by some 150 former *Tempo* staffers to challenge the dominance of the official Indonesian Reporters Association (PWI), by forming the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI), Indonesia's only independent reporters association. He used his international contacts to set up the Institute for Studies in the Free Flow of Information (ISAI), which monitors attacks on the press in Indonesia. He was also instrumental in opening up new outlets for *Tempo*-style reporting, notably the weekly magazine *D&R*, which Mohamad helped change from a detective and romance story tabloid to a popular journal of news and political commentary. Mohamad helped put together a group to operate *D&R* and staff it with *Tempo* veterans, among them Ahmad Taufik, a 1995 winner of CPJ's International Press Freedom Award. This editorial sleight of hand paid off as *D&R* gained a reputation for critical reporting even in the face of constant threats from the regime.

With the Indonesian political and economic crisis far from resolved, Mohamad, 57, is now poised to play a role in what may be the greatest drama of his turbulent career—bringing a genuinely free press to his country. Suharto is gone, but his successor, Habibie, who played a central role in the banning of *Tempo*, now has a stake in casting himself as a reform-minded transitional president. With the new government now pledging a commitment to press freedom, Mohamad and a group of former *Tempo* staffers relaunched their renowned magazine on October 6 with a dramatic cover story investigating the reported rapes of Chinese women during the widespread rioting in May that preceded Suharto's resignation.

In announcing the relaunch, Mohamad acknowledged that problems may lie ahead for free expression in Indonesia. *Tempo* intends to hold the Habibie government accountable for its actions. "We have to make the government commit itself to press freedom," Mohamad said.

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COMMITTEE TO PROTECT JOURNALISTS

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1998 International Press Freedom Awards November 24, 1998, Waldorf-Astoria, New York City

Honoring journalists who courageously provide independent news coverage and viewpoints in the face of arrest, imprisonment, violence against them and their families, and threats of death.

Pavel Sheremet, Belarus

Bureau Chief, ORT Russian television, and Editor, *Belarusskaya Delovaya Gazeta*

Pavel Sheremet has endured every conceivable type of official harassment for his coverage of Belarus' slide toward authoritarianism. Minsk bureau chief for the Russian public television company ORT since 1996 and editor in chief of the newspaper *Belarusskaya Delovaya Gazeta* since 1995, Sheremet—a Belarusian citizen—has been imprisoned, stripped of his credentials, and barred from traveling to the West or working as a journalist until January 1999. At the same time, the 27-year-old Minsk-born journalist has become a popular public figure for standing up to President Aleksander Lukashenko's campaign to silence critics and harness independent and opposition news media.

ORT and other Russian television companies have been particular targets of Lukashenko's regime. Because of the regime's success in muzzling domestic opposition and any local independent news media, Belarusians must tune in to Russian TV—ORT, NTV, and RTR—for an alternative to Lukashenko-controlled versions of the news.

With this in mind, Lukashenko last year turned his ire on critical coverage by the Russian news programs and their Minsk-based correspondents. He accused them of biased reporting, charging that they sought to subvert his regime and its fraternal relationship with Russia. Just as the Soviet-era Kremlin jammed "subversive" foreign radio broadcasts by the BBC, Radio Liberty, and Voice of America, Lukashenko has sought to silence the "subversive" Russian television outlets, by expelling their correspondents or lifting the credentials of reporters and their news organizations.

Sheremet has earned the regime's anger by covering opposition rallies and exposing Lukashenko's Soviet-style political tactics. In July 1997, the Belarusian Foreign Ministry suspended Sheremet's special events accreditation in an effort to prevent ORT from covering public gatherings on July 3, the new national independence day. Lukashenko had lobbied to change Belarus' independence day from July 27, the day the country declared its post-Soviet sovereignty, to the new date, marking a Soviet-era holiday. Foreign Ministry officials accused Sheremet of insulting the president and the nation of Belarus in a June 28 broadcast that characterized the new independence day date as "President Lukashenko's idea." (Foreign Ministry officials claimed the date change was "the will of the people," expressed in a controversial 1996 referendum on the subject.) The ministry demanded an apology from

ORT; when it didn't come, Sheremet's accreditation was permanently revoked, for "biased reporting" of events in Belarus.

In an incident that strained relations with Russia, Sheremet, his cameraman, and their driver—all Belarusian citizens—were detained by border guards on July 22 while filming a report on smuggling and border security at Belarus' frontier with Lithuania. Sheremet and his cameraman had requested permission to film, but received no reply. Undeterred, Sheremet jumped a fence to film unguarded border areas, demonstrating how easily smugglers could cross the Belarusian frontier (only weeks before, Lukashenko said he had ordered extra guards to the borders). Sheremet and his colleagues were arrested and charged with illegally crossing the border. Despite their eventual release, Belarus pressed charges against Sheremet and one crew member. In January, they were found guilty of crossing an unguarded section of Belarus' border with Lithuania, "exceeding their professional rights as journalists" and participating in a conspiracy. The court gave Sheremet a two-year suspended sentence.

Sheremet, a native of Minsk, was producer and anchor of a weekly news and analysis program called "Prospekt" on Belarus state TV's Channel 1 for a year, until the program was ordered off the air by Lukashenko in April 1995, one week before a controversial referendum that greatly increased his powers. Sheremet began working for ORT in 1995 and that year won the Belarus PEN Center's Adamovich Prize as best television reporter in Belarus.

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Office of the President

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October 20, 1998

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The Office of the First Lady
The White House
Washington, D.C.
Attention: Ms. Shirley Sagawa
FAX (202) 456-6244

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

It was a great pleasure to meet you briefly in Prague last week at Forum 2000. Your address was very powerful. What genuine empathy and respect you have for those in the world still struggling to live with dignity! There are no national borders when it comes to our human need for hope and optimism about the future. Your openness to the richness of life and your willingness to share your wealth of experience provide a remarkable example of citizenship, a concept about which you spoke so eloquently.

In my own situation as an American Council on Education Fellow, I have had the honor of working with President Gordon Gee at Brown this semester. I am learning about the fascinating challenges and complexities of leading a university into the next century. One of my goals as an educator (I am on sabbatical from my position as Professor of Music and Director of the Center for the Arts in Society at The University of New Mexico) is to encourage our communities to look at the arts and humanities as potent agents and catalysts for social change. I am in the beginning stages of a book project that will deal with the ways in which the arts have stunning potential to address basic needs of society — in critical spheres of life, such as health care, international relations, enhancing education, and rehabilitating prisoners.

A few years ago I was at a town meeting in rural New Mexico with the President of the University of New Mexico. The citizens of the small town lamented the fact that the university's medical intern had left the area after he finished his fellowship. They had no doctor and the nearest medical facility was a hundred miles away. The reason the young doctor didn't stay? Because his daughter couldn't take violin lessons there. There was no cultural infrastructure. In another part of the world, last July I worked with a group of young music teachers at the Zimbabwe College of Music in Harare. I asked them to think about what they could do in their lives to best contribute their gifts to society. I recently got an answer in a letter from one of the Zimbabwean educators, a courageous young woman who herself grew up as an orphan and understands the power of music to change the conditions of peoples' lives. She wrote of wanting to create a music project "to improve the lives of rural disadvantaged people... to address the issue that the orphans are neglected, the old aged have no support and the disabled are treated inhumanly...to help the disadvantaged realize that disability does not mean inability as they learn to play musical instruments...to equip children of different ages with musical knowledge and skills which they can depend upon in the future to earn a living... The project would lead to the mushrooming of other projects that would further help to uplift the standards of the rural people."



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Uscher letter to Mrs. Clinton (cont.)

I appreciate having the opportunity to share these thoughts with you. I wonder if I could, at your convenience, brainstorm with you briefly about the book project. I know how incredibly busy you are throughout the next few weeks. I am attending a Brown University function in Washington, D.C. the evening of December 2. Would there be any possibility of speaking or meeting for a half-hour in the early days of December?

Looking ahead to 1999, I will be attending several higher education meetings in Washington during February and March, as well. I look forward to being in touch in the future. In the meantime, I will send you a series of CD's (programs for National Public Radio) my center in New Mexico produced with funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities called "Music as a Symbol of American Pluralism and Identity."

Wishing you all the best,

Sincerely,

Nancy J. Uscher

Nancy Uscher

A.C.E. Fellow at Brown University

(After December 18 I'll continue the A.C.E. Fellowship

In the Office of the President at the University of New Mexico)

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